













# PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

*LIFE OF PLUTARCH.*

---

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D

AND

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

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BY

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THE  
L I F E  
OF  
P H O C I O N.

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SUMMARY.

*Phocion's glory obscured by the unhappy circumstances of the times. Difficult to govern republics in adversity. Just temperance of conduct hard to be distorted. Excessive austerity of Cato. Why compared with Phocion. Phocion's birth and character. His various observations. He serves under Chabrias; then mutual regard. He equally studies politics and war: never flatters the people. His different sayings. Reflections upon his character. Esteem entertained for him by the Athenian allies. He gains a complete victory over Philip's army in Eubœa. The allies refuse to receive Chares' fleet into their harbours. Phocion appointed to supersede him. He gets possession of Megara, and advises his countrymen to make peace with Philip: is placed at the head of the administration. His opinion about the citizens demanded by Alexander. He advises that prince to turn his arms against the Persians: refuses his presents. His wife. He carries his son to Lacedæmon, to be educated in all the rigour of the ancient discipline. His conduct with respect to Harpalus: prudence on receiving intelligence of Alexander's death: opinion on the Lamian war. He defeats Micion. Victory, and subsequent defeat, of the confederate Greeks in Thessaly. Phocion despatched ambassador to Antipater: His second embassy. The Athenians obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison. Twelve thousand citizens excluded, on account of their poverty, from a share in the government. Rigour and tyranny of Antipater. Phocion's prudence, and disinterestedness. Death of Demades and his son. Phocion renders Nicanor kind and oblig-*



*ing to the Athenians. They are deceived by Polyperchon. Nioanor forms designs against the Piræus. Phocion accused of treason. Polyperchon sends him bound, in a cart, to Athens. The people condemn him to death. His magnanimity. A poor man, named Conopion, manages his funeral. Repentance of the Athenians, and honours paid by them to Phocion: Vengeance taken upon his accusers.*

**DEMADES** the orator<sup>1</sup>, by studying throughout his whole administration to gratify the Macedonians and Antipater, acquired considerable authority in Athens. Whenever he found himself obliged by that complaisance to propose laws, and to make speeches, injurious to the dignity and the virtue of his country, he used to say; "He was excusable, because he came to the helm at a time, when the commonwealth was no more than a wreck." This assertion, which in him was unwarrantable, applies apparently with great accuracy to the administration of Phocion. Demades was the very man, who wrecked his country. He pursued such a vicious plan both in his private and public conduct, that Antipater scrupled not to compare him, when he was grown old, to "a sacrificed beast, all consumed except his tongue and his paunch<sup>2</sup>." But Phocion's virtue found a strong and powerful adversary in the times, and it's glory was sullied and obscured in the gloomy period of Greece's misfortunes. Yet Virtue is not so weak, as Sophocles would make her, where he says,

For not in adverse days the native spirit  
Remains, but flies\*.

<sup>1</sup> This man, one of the demagogues of the day, and the venal tool of Macedon, finally (as we shall see in the sequel of this Life) fell a victim to his intrigues.\*

<sup>2</sup> The tongue and the paunch were not consumed with the rest of the victim. The paunch was stuffed and served up at table, and the tongue was burnt on the altar in honour of Mercury at the end of the entertainment, when libations were poured upon it. Of this, there are many examples in Homer's *Odyssey*.

\* *Soph. Antig.* 564.

• All the advantage, which Fortune can truly be affirmed to gain in her combats with the virtuous is, her bringing upon them unjust reproach and censure, instead of the honour and esteem which are their due, and by that means lessening the confidence, which the world would otherwise repose in their excellence.

It is imagined indeed that, when affairs prosper, the people elated with their strength and success behave with greater insolence toward good ministers; but the very reverse is the case. Misfortunes always sour their tempers; the least thing will then disturb them; they take fire at trifles, and are impatient of the least severity of expression. He, who reproves their faults, seems to reproach them with their misfortunes; and every free address is considered as an insult. As honey makes a wounded or ulcerated member smart, so a remonstrance, though pregnant with truth and good sense, frequently hurts and irritates the distressed, if it is not gentle and mild in the application. Hence Homer often expresses such things as are pleasant by the word *menoikes*, which signifies what is 'symphonious to the mind,' what soothes it's weakness, and does not bear hard upon it's inclinations. Inflamed eyes love to dwell upon dark dingy colours, and avoid such as are bright and glaring. So it is with a state, in any series of ill advised measures. Such is the timorous and relaxed condition of it's nerves, that it cannot bear the least whisper of alarm. Even upon the most necessary occasions, when it is on the verge of irretrievable errors, it is an arduous task to govern such a people; for, if the man who tells them truth falls the first sacrifice, he who flatters them perishes with them at last.

The sun, according to mathematicians<sup>3</sup>, does not move in the same direction with the heavens, nor yet in a direction quite opposite; but, circulating with

<sup>3</sup> This name, in ancient times, was particularly given to astronomers, \*

a gentle and almost insensible obliquity, gives to the whole system a temperature essential to it's preservation. Thus in a system of government, if a statesman be determined to describe a straight line, and in all things to thwart the wishes of the people, such rigour must render his administration odious; on the other hand, if he suffer himself to be carried along with their most erroneous motions, the government will speedily be in a tottering and ruinous state. The latter, however, is the more common error of the two. But the politics which keep a middle course, sometimes slackening and sometimes tightening the reins, indulging the people in one point to gain another more important, are the only measures formed upon rational principles; for a well-timed condescension and moderate treatment will lead men to concur in many useful schemes, into which they could never be driven by despotism and violence. This medium, it must be acknowledged, it is laborious and difficult to hit upon, because it requires a mixture of dignity with gentleness; but, when the just temperature is gained, it presents the happiest and most perfect harmony that can be conceived. It is by this sublime harmony, that the Supreme Being governs the world; for nature is not dragged into obedience to his commands: his influence is indeed irresistible, but it is at the same time mild and rational.

The effects of austerity were seen in the Younger Cato. There was nothing engaging, or popular, in his behaviour; he never studied to oblige the people, and therefore his weight in the administration was inconsiderable. Cicero observes, "He acted as if he had lived in the commonwealth of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus, and therefore he lost the consulate<sup>1</sup>." His case appears to me to have been

<sup>1</sup> Ep. ad Att. ii. 1. But we find nothing there of the repulse, which Cato met with in his application for the consulship. That repulse, indeed, did not happen till eight years after the date of this Epistle.

the same with that of fruit, which comes out of season: people look upon it with pleasure and admiration, but they make no use of it. Thus the old-fashioned virtue of Cato, making it's appearance amidst the luxury and corruption which lapse of years had introduced, had all the splendour of reputation which such a phenomenon could claim, but it did not suit the exigencies of the state; it was disproportioned to the times, and too ponderous and unwieldy for use. His circumstances indeed were not altogether like those of Phocion, who did not come into the administration till the state was sinking<sup>5</sup>, whereas Cato had only to save the ship beating about in the storm. At the same time we must allow, that he had not the principal direction of her; he did not sit at the helm: he could only help to haul the sails, and the tackle. Yet he maintained a noble conflict with Fortune, who having determined to ruin the commonwealth, effected it by a variety of instruments, but with great difficulty, by slow steps and gradual advances. So near was Rome being saved by Cato, and Cato's virtue! With it we would compare that of Phocion: not in a general manner, so as to say, they were both persons of integrity and able statesmen—for there is a difference between valour and valour<sup>6</sup>: for instance, between that of Alcibiades, and that of Epaminondas; the prudence of Themistocles, and that of

<sup>5</sup> Extraordinary efforts are more necessary to save the poor remains of a wreck, than to keep a ship, yet whole and entire, from sinking.

<sup>6</sup> This is admirably exemplified in Homer, and well described by Pope in the valuable Preface to his translation of the *Iliad*, where he characterises the courage of Achilles, as 'furious and untractable; that of Diomedes, as forward, yet listening to advice and subject to command; that of Ajax as heavy and self-confiding; that of Hector, as active and vigilant; that of Agamemnon, as inspirited by love of empire and ambition; that of Menelaus, as mixed with softness and tenderness for his people,' &c. &c. So of the wisdom of Ulysses and Nestor, he observes, that of the first is 'artificial and various; of the latter natural, open, and regular.' Whereas the heroes of Virgil and Statius, from their undistinguished characters, seem all 'brothers of one family.'\*

Aristides, were not the same; justice was of one kind in Numa, and in Agesilaus of another—but the virtues of Phocion and Cato were the same in the most minute particular; in impression, and form, and colour, perfectly similar. Thus their severity of manners was equally tempered with humanity, and their valour with caution; they had the same solicitude for others, and the same disregard for themselves: the same abhorrence of every thing base and dishonourable, and the same firm attachment upon all occasions to justice: so that it requires a very delicate expression, like the finely-discriminated sounds of the organ<sup>7</sup>, to mark the difference in their characters.

It is universally agreed, that Cato was of an illustrious pedigree, of which we shall give some account in his Life: and that of Phocion, we conjecture, was not mean or obscure: for had he been the son of a turner, as Idomeneus pretends \*, it would certainly

7 Ωςτε ληπτὲ παυνο λόγοι δοῦναι, καθάπερ ὄργανον πρὸς διακρίσιν καὶ ἀνιερσιν τῶν διαφαιρόντων. The organ here mentioned was probably that invented by Ctesibius, who (according to Athenæus) placed in the temple of Zephyrus at Alexandria a tube, which collecting air by the appulsive motion of water emitted musical sounds, adapted either by their strength to war, or by their lightness to festivity. Hedyllus, in his Elegies, mentions this organ under the title of Κεραί,

Ζεφροῦται καὶ τὸτε φίλοι Ζεφύρου μάτα ἦσαν,  
Θρίπτον μὲν βασιλεὺς εἰσιθέουσιν τὸ ΚΕΡΑΣ,  
Σαλπίζον λυγρίας τῷ κρούει πρὸς ῥύσιν ἡχάς  
Δαίτω καὶ πολέμῳ συνθεῖναι καὶ θαλίῃς

Thus we see, this instrument was capable of great variety and discrimination of harmony. Claudian has, likewise, left us the following description of it:

*Et qui magna levi detrudens murmuræ tactu,  
Innumeras voces segetis moderatur ahenæ.  
Intonat erranti digito, penitusque trabali  
Vecte laborantes in carmina canticat undas.*

Cornelius Severus says, *Ejus fuit generis, qui aquarum assultu auram conciperet.* But it's *innumeras voces* (as Claudian calls them) it's 'variety of expression,' is undoubtedly the reason, why Plutarch mentions it in this place.

\* Idomeneus of Lampsacus, an Epicurean, contemporary with Ptolemy Lagus, wrote the Lives of the Socratic Philosophers. See Voss. de Hist. Gr. i. 11,

Hyperides was one of the Ten Orators of Athens.\*

have been mentioned by Glaucippus the son of Hyperides, among a thousand other things, in the Treatise which he wrote on purpose to disparage him. Neither, if his birth had been low, would he have had so excellent an education, or such a liberal mind and manners. It is certain, that when very young he was a pupil of Plato, and subsequently of Xenocrates in the Academy: and, from the very first, he distinguished himself by his strong application to the most valuable studies. Duris informs us, that the Athenians never saw him either laugh, or cry, or make use of a public bath, or take his hand from under his cloke when he was dressed to appear in public. If he made an excursion into the country, or marched out to war, he went always barefooted\*, and without his upper garment likewise, unless it happened to be intolerably cold: and then his soldiers used to laugh, and say, "It is a sign of a sharp winter; Phocion has put his clothes on."

He was one of the most humane and best-tempered of men; and yet he had so ill-natured and forbidding a look, that strangers were afraid to address him without company. When Chares the orator therefore observed to the Athenians, "What terrible brows Phocion had;" and they could not help smiling at the remark, he said, "This brow of mine never gave one of you an hour of sorrow; but the laughter of these sneerers has cost their country many a tear." In like manner, though his measures were happy ones, and his counsels of the most salutary kind, yet he introduced no flowers of rhetoric; his speeches were concise, commanding, and severe. For, as Zeno remarks, that a philosopher should never suffer a syllable to come out of his mouth, which is not strongly tinged with sense, so Phocion's oratory contained the most sense in the fewest words. And this it seems, Polyeuctus the

\* This, we are told by Xenophon in his *Mem. Socr.*, was likewise Socrates' custom.\*

Sphettian had in view, when he said; "Demosthenes" "was the better orator, and Phocion the more" "persuasive speaker." His speeches were to be estimated like coins, not for their size, but for their intrinsic value. Agreeably to which we are told, that one day when the theatre was full of people, Phocion was observed behind the scenes wrapped up in thought; upon which one of his friends observed to him, "What! at your meditations, Phocion?" "Yes," replied he, "I am meditating whether I" "cannot shorten what I have to say to the Atheni-  
"ans." And Demosthenes who despised the other orators, used to whisper to his friends, whenever Phocion got up, "Here comes the pruning-hook of" "my periods \*." But this is, perhaps, to be ascribed to the excellence of his character; since a word or a nod, from a person revered for his virtue, is of more weight than the most elaborate speeches of other men.

In his youth he served under Chabrias †, at that time the commander of the Athenian armies; and, as he paid him all proper attention, he gained likewise from him much military knowledge. In some degree too he helped to correct the temper of Chabrias, which was impetuous and uneven. For that general, though at other times scarcely any thing could move him, in the moment of action was most impetuously vehement, and exposed his person with a boldness ungoverned by discretion. This at last cost him his life, when he determined to get in before the other galleys to the isle of Chios, and attempted to make good his landing by dint of sword. Phocion, whose prudence was equal to his courage, animated him when he was too slow in his operations, and endeavoured to bring him to act coolly, when he was unseasonably violent. This gained him the affection

\* See the Life of Demosthenes, Vol. V.

† The Life of this general is written by Cornelius Nepos, and many of his exploits are recorded by Xenophon in his Hellen., and Diod. Sic. xvi.\*

of Chabrias, who was a man of candour and probity; and he assigned him commissions and enterprises of great importance, which raised him to the notice of the Greeks. Particularly in the sea-fight off Naxos, Phocion being appointed to head the squadron on the left, where the action was hottest, had a fine opportunity of distinguishing himself: and he made such use of it, that victory soon declared for the Athenians\*. This being the first advantage, which they had gained at sea in a dispute with Greeks since the taking of their city, they expressed the highest regard for Chabrias, and began to consider Phocion as a person, in whom they should one day find an able commander. The battle was won, during the celebration of the Great Mysteries; and Chabrias, in commemoration of it, annually treated the Athenians with wine on the sixteenth day of Boëdromion.

Some time after this, Chabrias sent Phocion to the islands to demand their contributions, and offered him a guard of twenty sail. But Phocion said, "If you send me against enemies, such a fleet is too small; if to friends, a single ship is sufficient." He therefore went in his own galley, and by addressing himself to the cities and magistrates in an open and humane manner succeeded so well, as to return with a number of ships which the allies fitted out, putting at the same time their respective quotas of money on board.

Phocion not only honoured and paid his court to Chabrias as long as he lived, but after his death continued his attentions to all who had belonged to him. With his son Ctesippus he took peculiar pains, in order to form him to virtue; and though he found him very stupid and untractable, he still laboured to

\* See Xenoph. *ib.* v., and Diod. Sic. *ib.* 34. This action, in which Pollis commanded the defeated fleet of the Lacedæmonians, took place Ol. c. 4., B. C. 377.

The isle of Naxos, the largest, pleasantest, and most productive of the Cyclades, was celebrated for its wine, which accounts for Chabrias' annual treat mentioned below.\*



correct, as well as to conceal, his errors. Once, indeed, his patience failed him. In one of his expeditions, the young man was so troublesome with unseasonable questions and attempts to give advice, as if he knew how to direct the operations better than the general himself, that at last he exclaimed; "O Chabrias, Chabrias! what a return do I make thee for thy favours, in bearing with the impertinences of thy son."

He observed, that those who took upon them the management of public affairs made two departments of them, the civil and the military, which they shared as it were by lot. Pursuant to this division, Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides addressed the people from the Rostrum, and proposed new edicts: while Diopithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares raised themselves by the honours and employments of the camp. But Phocion chose rather to move in the walk of Pericles, Aristides, and Solon, who excelled not only as orators but as generals, for he thought their fame more complete; each of these great men, to use the words of Archilochus, appearing justly to claim

The palms of Mars, and laurels of the Muse;

and he knew, that the tutelar goddess of Athens was equally the patroness of arts and arms.

Formed upon these models, he kept the great objects of peace and tranquillity constantly in view: yet was he engaged in more wars than any person, either of his own or of preceding times. Not that he courted, or even applied for, the command; but he did not decline it, when summoned by the voice of his country. It is certain, that he was chosen general not less than forty-five times, without having once attended at the election; having been always appointed in his absence, at the free motion of his countrymen. Men of shallow understanding were surprised that the people should set such a value upon

Phocion, who generally opposed their inclinations, and never said or did any thing with a view to recommend himself. For, as princes divert themselves at their meals with buffoons and jesters, so the Athenians attended to the polite and agreeable address of their orators merely by way of entertainment ; but when the question was concerning so important a business as the command of their forces, they returned to sober and serious thinking, and selected the wisest citizen and the man of the severest manners, who had most steadily combated their capricious humours and desires. This he scrupled not to avow ; for one day, when an oracle from Delphi was read in the assembly, importing, ‘ That the rest of the Athenians were unanimous in their opinions, and that there was only one man who dissented from them ;’ Phocion came forward and told them, “ They need not give themselves any trouble in seeking for this refractory citizen, as he was the man who did not like any of their measures.” And at another time in a public debate, when his opinion happened to be received with universal applause, he turned to his friends and said, “ Have I inadvertently let slip something wrong ?”

The Athenians were one day making a collection, to defray the charge of a public sacrifice, and numbers gave liberally. Phocion was importuned to contribute among the rest, but he bade them apply to the rich : “ I should be ashamed,” said he, “ to give you any thing, and not pay this man what I owe him ;” pointing, at the same time, to the usurer Callicles. And, as they continued very clamorous and teasing, he told them the following tale : “ A cowardly fellow once resolved to make a campaign ; but immediately upon his setting out, the ravens began to croak, upon which he laid down his arms and stopped. As soon as the first alarm was a little over, he resumed his march. The ravens however renewing their croaking, he made a full stop,

“ and said, ‘ You may croak your hearts out if you please, but you shall never taste my carcase.’ ”

The Athenians once insisting upon his leading them against the enemy, and on his refusal telling him, “ Nothing could be more dastardly and spiritless than his behaviour;” he answered, “ You can neither make me valiant, nor can I make you cowards; but we know one another perfectly well.”

Public affairs happening to be in a dangerous situation, the people were greatly exasperated against him, and demanded an immediate account of his conduct. Upon which he only said, “ My good friends, first get out of your difficulties.”

During a war, however, they were generally humble and submissive; and it was not till after peace was made, that they began to talk vauntingly, and to find fault with their general. As they were once reproaching Phocion with having robbed them of a victory already in their hands, he replied, “ It is happy for you, that you have a general who knows you; otherwise, you would have been ruined long ago.”

Having a difference with the Boeotians, which they refused to settle by treaty, and proposed to decide by the sword, Phocion said, “ Good people, keep to the method, in which you have the advantage: that is, talking, not fighting.”

One day, determined not to follow his advice, his countrymen refused to give him a hearing: upon which he observed, “ Though you can make me act against my judgement, you shall never make me speak against it.”

Demosthenes, one of the orators of the adverse party, happening to say, “ The Athenians will certainly kill you, Phocion, some time or other:” he answered, “ They may kill me, if they are mad; but they will kill you, if they are in their senses.”

When Polycuctus the Sphettian advised the Athe-

nians to make war upon Philip, the weather being hot and the orator a corpulent man, he ran himself out of breath and perspired so violently, than he was forced to take several draughts of cold water before he could finish his speech. Phocion, seeing him in this condition, thus addressed the assembly; "You have great reason to pass an edict for the war, upon this man's recommendation! For what may you not expect from him, when he marches under a load of armour against the enemy; if in delivering to you, peaceable folks, a speech which he had composed at his leisure, he is ready to be suffocated!"

Lycurgus, the orator, one day said many disparaging things of him in the general assembly; and among the rest stated his having given it as his opinion, when Alexander demanded ten of their orators<sup>b</sup>, that they should be delivered to him. "It is true," said Phocion, "I have given the people of Athens much good counsel, but they do not follow it."

There was then in Athens one Archibiades, who got the name of 'Laconistes' by letting his beard grow long in the Lacedæmonian manner, wearing a thread-bare cloke, and keeping a very grave countenance. Phocion finding one of his assertions much contradicted in the assembly, called upon this man to support the truth and rectitude of what he had said. Archibiades however ranged himself on the side of the people, and advised what he thought they would most like to hear. Upon which Phocion, taking him by the beard, said, "What is all this heap of hair for? Cut it off, cut it off."

Aristogiton, a public informer, paraded with his pretended valour before the people, and pressed them much to declare war. But when the lists of those selected to serve were to be made out, this

<sup>b</sup> For *πολιτῶν* we should here read *πολιτικῶν*, as a little above we should read *πολιτικῶν* instead of *πολιτῶν*. That they were 'orators,' whom Alexander demanded, appears from Demosthenes.

swaggerer appeared with his leg bound up, and a crutch under his arm. Phocion as he sat upon the business, seeing him at some distance in this condition, called out to his secretary, "Put down Aristogiton a cripple and a coward."

All these sayings have something so severe in them, that it seems strange a man of such austere and unpopular manners should ever have gotten the surname of 'the Good.' It is indeed difficult, but I believe not impossible, for the same man to be both rough and gentle, as some wines are both sweet and sour: and, on the other hand, some men who have a great appearance of gentleness in their temper, are very harsh and vexatious to those who have to do with them. In this case the saying of Hyperides to the people of Athens deserves notice: "Don't examine whether or not I am severe upon you, but whether or not I am so for my own sake." As if it were avarice only, that makes a minister odious to the people; and the abuse of power to the purposes of pride, envy, anger, or revenge did not render him equally obnoxious.

As to Phocion, he never exerted himself against any one in his private capacity, or considered him as an enemy: but he was inflexibly severe against every one, who opposed his motions and designs for the public good. His behaviour in other respects was liberal, benevolent, and humane: he was always ready to assist the unfortunate; and he pleaded even for his enemy, if he happened to be in danger. His friends one day finding fault with him, for having appeared in behalf of a man whose conduct did not deserve it, he said, "The good have no need of an advocate." Aristogiton the informer, being condemned and committed to prison, entreated the favour of Phocion to go and speak to him, and he complied with the application. His friends dissuading

\* How does this, both in principle and expression, remind us of Him, who tells us (Mark ii. 17.) 'They, that be whole, have no need of the physician!'

him from it, he replied, " Let me alone, good people. Where would one rather speak to Aristogiton, than in a prison?"

When the Athenians sent out their fleets under any other commander, the maritime towns and islands in alliance with them regarded every such commander as an enemy: they strengthened their walls, closed their harbours, and conveyed their cattle, slaves, women, and children out of the country into the cities. But when Phocion had the command, the same people went out to meet him in their own ships with chaplets on their heads, and every expression of joy, and in that manner conducted him to their homes.

Philip endeavoured privately to get footing in Eubœa, and for that purpose introduced forces from Macedon, as well as practised upon the towns by means of the petty princes. Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria<sup>10</sup> called in the Athenians, and implored them to rescue the island out of the hands of the Macedonians; in consequence of which, they at first despatched Phocion with a small body of troops, expecting that the Eubœans would immediately rise and join him. But when he came, he found nothing among them except treasonable designs, and disaffection to their country; for they were almost universally corrupted by Philip's money. He therefore seized an eminence<sup>11</sup> separated from the plains of Tamynæ by a deep defile, and in that post secured the best of his troops. As for the disorderly, the talkative, and the cowardly part of the soldiers, if they attempted to desert and steal out of the camp, he ordered the officers to let them go. " For," said he, " if they stay here, such is their want of disci-

<sup>10</sup> A town of Eubœa, *hœd.* Negropont, situated upon the Euripus. See the Life of Demosthenes, Vol. V.

<sup>11</sup> Instead of ἀποκρηττισιον, as it stands in the original text, we should read, ἀποκρηττιον. So says M. Du Soul: but we think ἀποκρηττιον, 'sloping' or 'sloped,' which is nearer the text, more likely to be the proper correction.

“ pline, that instead of being serviceable, they will be  
“ prejudicial in the time of action ; and, as they will  
“ always be conscious that they fled from their co-  
“ lours, we shall not have so much noise and calum-  
“ ny from them in Athens.”

Upon the approach of the enemy, he ordered his men to stand to their arms, but not attempt any thing, till he had made an end of his sacrifice : and whether it was that he wanted to gain time, or could not easily discover the auspicious tokens, or was desirous of drawing the enemy nearer to him, he was long about it. In the mean while Plutarch, imagining that this delay was owing to his fear and irresolution, charged at the head of the mercenaries ; and the cavalry seeing him in motion could wait no longer, but advanced against the enemy, though in a scattered and irregular manner, as they happened to issue out of the camp. The first line being soon broken, all the rest dispersed, and Plutarch himself fled. A detachment from the enemy now attacked the entrenchments, and endeavoured to make a breach in them, supposing that the fate of the day was decided. But at that instant Phocion had finished his sacrifice, and the Athenians sallying out of the camp fell upon the assailants, routed them, and cut most of them to pieces in the trenches. Phocion then gave the main-body directions to keep their ground, in order to receive and cover such as were dispersed in the first attack, while he with a select party went and charged the enemy. A sharp conflict ensued, both sides behaving with the utmost spirit and intrepidity. Among the Athenians, Thallus the son of Cineas, and Glaucus the son of Polymedes, who fought near the general's person, distinguished themselves the most. Cleophanes, likewise, did great service in the action ; for he rallied the cavalry and brought them up again, by calling after them, and insisting that they should come to the aid of their general, who was in danger. They returned therefore to the charge, and by the assist-

ance which they gave the infantry, secured the victory.

Phocion after the battle drove Plutarch out of Eretria, and made himself master of Zaretra, a fort advantageously situated where the island draws to a point, and the neck of land is defended on each side by the sea. He did not choose however, in consequence of his victory, to take the Greeks prisoners; lest the Athenians, influenced by their orators, should in the first motions of resentment pass some unjust sentence upon them.

After this signal success, he sailed back to Athens. The allies soon found the want of his goodness and justice, and the Athenians saw his capacity and courage in a clear light. For Molossus, who succeeded him, conducted the war so ill as to fall himself into the enemy's hands. Philip, now rising in his designs and his hopes, marched to the Hellespont with all his forces, in order to seize at once on the Chersonese, Perinthus, and Byzantium.

The Athenians determining to send succours to that quarter, the orators prevailed upon them to give that commission to Chares. Accordingly he sailed to those parts, but did nothing worthy of the force, with which he was entrusted. The cities would not receive his fleet into their harbours; but under general suspicion he beat about, raising contributions where he could upon the allies, and at the same time despised by the enemy. The orators, now taking the other side, exasperated the people to such a degree, that they repented of having sent any succours to the Byzantians; upon which Phocion rose up, and told them, "They ought not to be angry at the suspicions of the allies, but at their own generals, who did not deserve to have any confidence placed in them. For on their account," said he, "you are regarded with an eye of jealousy by the very people, who yet cannot be saved without your assistance." This argument had such an effect upon



them, that they again changed their minds, and bade Phocion go himself with another armament to the succour of the allies on the Hellespont.

This contributed, more than any thing else, to the saving of Byzantium. Phocion's reputation stood already high: besides, Cleon a man of eminence in Byzantium, who had formerly been well acquainted with him at the Academy, pledged his honour to the city in his behalf. The Byzantians would then no longer suffer him to encamp without, but opening their gates received him into their city, and mixed familiarly with the Athenians; who, delighted by this confidence, were not only easy with respect to provisions, and regular in their behaviour, but exerted themselves with great spirit in every action. By these means Philip was forced to retire from the Hellespont, and he suffered not a little in his military reputation; for till then he had been deemed utterly invincible. Phocion took some of his ships, and recovered several cities which he had garrisoned; and, making descents in various parts of his territories, harassed and ravaged the flat country. But at last, happening to be wounded by a party which made head against him, he weighed anchor, and returned home.

Some time after this, the Megarensians privately applied to him for assistance; and as he was afraid that the matter would transpire, and the Boeotians would be before-hand with him, he assembled the people early in the morning, and gave them an account of the application. They had no sooner sanctioned the proposal, than he ordered the trumpets to sound as a signal for them to arm; after which, he immediately marched to Megara, where he was received with great joy. His first step was to fortify Nisæa, and to build two strong walls between the city and the port; by which means the town had a safe communication with the sea, and having little to fear from the enemy on the land-side, was secured in the Athenian interest.

The Athenians being now in a state of decided hostility with Philip, the conduct of the war in Phocion's absence was committed to other generals. But upon his return from the islands he represented to the people that, as Philip was peaceably disposed and apprehensive of the issue of hostilities, it would be more prudent to accept the proffered conditions. And when one of those public barretors, who spend their whole time in the court of *Heliaea*<sup>12</sup>, and make it their sole business to form impeachments, opposed him, and said; "Dare you pretend, Phocion, to dissuade the Athenians from war, now that the sword is drawn?" "Yes," replied he, "I dare; though I know that thou wouldest be in my power in time of war, and I shall be in thine in time of peace." Demosthenes however carried it against him in favour of war, which he advised the Athenians to make at the greatest distance they could from Attica. This gave Phocion occasion to observe, "My good friend, consider not so much where we shall fight, as how we shall conquer. For victory is the only thing, which can keep the war at a distance: If we are beaten, every danger will soon be at our gates."

The Athenians did lose the day<sup>13</sup>; after which, the most factious and troublesome part of the citizens drew Charidemus to the hustings, and insisted that he should have the command. This alarmed the real well-wishers of their country so much, that they called in the members of the *Arcopagus* to their assistance; and it was not without many tears, and the most earnest entreaties, that they prevailed upon the assembly to place the administration in Phocion's hands.

<sup>12</sup> For the solemn oath taken by the judges of this court see Potter, *Archæol. Gr.* I. xxi.\*

<sup>13</sup> Plutarch alludes, most probably, to the fatal action of *Chæroneæ*, Ol. cx. 3., B. C. 338. Charidemus subsequently took refuge at the court of Darius (See Quint. Curt. iii. 2.); and for the noble frankness, with which he pointed out the superiority of Macedonian steel to Persian gold, was by the order of that prince put to death.\*

His opinion was, that the other proposals of Philip should be readily accepted, because they seemed to be dictated by humanity: but when the terms were moved, that Athens should be comprehended in the general peace, and as one of the states of Greece, should have the same terms with the other cities; Phocion said; "This ought not to be agreed to, till "it was known what conditions Philip required." The times were against him, however, and he was over-ruled. And when he saw the Athenians afterward repented, because they found themselves obliged to furnish Philip both with ships of war and with cavalry, he remarked, "This was what I feared; "and upon this my opposition was founded. But "since you have signed the treaty, you must bear "its inconveniences without murmuring or despondency; remembering that your ancestors sometimes gave law to their neighbours, and were "sometimes compelled to submit, but always did "both with honour, and thus at once saved themselves and the rest of Greece."

When the intelligence of Philip's death<sup>14</sup> was brought to Athens, he would not suffer any sacrifices or rejoicings to be made upon that account. "Nothing," he said, "could evince greater meanness of spirit, than expressions of joy on the death "of an enemy. What reason indeed is there for "exultation, when the army with which you fought "at Cheronæa is lessened only by a single man?"

Demosthenes inveighed bitterly against Alexander, when he was marching against Thebes; the impolicy of this, Phocion readily perceived, and said,

"What boots the god-like giant to provoke,  
"Whose arm may sink us at a single stroke?"

<sup>14</sup> B. C. 336.\*

<sup>15</sup> These words are addressed to Ulysses by his companions, in order to restrain him from provoking the giant Polyphemus, after they had escaped out of his cave, and got on board their ship. (Odyss. ix. 494.)

“ When you see such a dreadful fire near you, would  
 “ you plunge Athens into it ? For my part, I will not  
 “ suffer you to ruin yourselves, though your inclina-  
 “ tions tend that way ; and to prevent such mea-  
 “ sures, is my object in taking the command.”

When Alexander had destroyed Thebes, he sent to the Athenians, and demanded that they should deliver up to him Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus. The whole assembly cast their eyes upon Phocion, and frequently called upon him by name. At last, he rose up ; and standing by the side of one of his friends, who had the largest share in his confidence and affection, expressed himself as follows : “ The persons, whom Alexander de-  
 “ mands, have brought the commonwealth into such  
 “ miserable circumstances, that if he demanded even  
 “ my friend Nicocles, I should vote for delivering  
 “ him up. For my own part, I should think it the  
 “ greatest happiness to die for you all. At the same  
 “ time, I am not without compassion for the poor  
 “ Thebans, who have taken refuge among us ; but  
 “ it is enough for Greece to weep over Thebes,  
 “ [without weeping over Athens too.] The best  
 “ measure then which we can take is, to intercede  
 “ with the conqueror for both, and by no means to  
 “ think of fighting.”

The first decree, drawn up in consequence of these deliberations, Alexander is said to have rejected, and to have turned his back upon the deputies : but the second he received, because it was brought by Phocion, who (as his old counsellors informed him) stood high in the esteem of his father Philip. He therefore not only gave him a favourable audience, and granted his request, but even listened to his advice. This was to the following purport : “ If tranquillity was his  
 “ object, to put an end to his wars ; if glory, to leave  
 “ the Greeks in quiet, and turn his arms against the  
 “ barbarians.” In the course of their conference, he made many observations so agreeable to Alexander’s disposition and sentiments, that his resentment against

the Athenians was perfectly appeased, and he even remarked, "The people of Athens must be very attentive to the affairs of Greece; for, if any thing happen to me, upon them will devolve the supreme direction." With Phocion in particular he entered into obligations of friendship and hospitality, and paid him greater honours than most of his own courtiers were indulged with. Nay, Duris informs us, that after he had risen by the conquest of Darius to superior greatness, and had omitted the word *chairein*, the common form of salutation in his address to others, he still retained it in writing to Phocion, and to nobody besides except Antipater. The same circumstance is, also, recorded by Chares.

As to his munificence to Phocion, all agree that he sent him a hundred talents. When the money was brought to Athens, Phocion demanded of the bearers, "Why, among all the citizens of Athens, he alone should be singled out as the object of such bounty?" "Because," they replied, "Alexander looks upon you as the only honest and good man." "Then," said Phocion, "let him permit me always to retain that character, as well as to deserve it." After this, the envoys attended him home; and when they saw the frugality which reigned there, his wife baking bread, and himself drawing water and washing his own feet, they implored him the more urgently to receive the present. They told him, "It gave them real uneasiness, and was indeed absolutely intolerable, that the friend of so illustrious a prince should live in such a wretched manner." At that instant, a poor old man happening to pass by in a mean garment, Phocion asked them, "Whether they thought worse of him, or of that man?" As they entreated him not to make such a comparison, he rejoined; "Yet that man lives upon less than I do, and still has enough. In one word, it will be to no purpose for me to have so much money, if I do not use it; and if I do, I shall bring both myself, and the king your master, under the censure of

“the Athenians.” Thus the money was carried back from Athens, and the whole transaction was a good lesson to the Greeks, that the man, who did not stand in need of such a sum, was richer than he that could bestow it.

Displeased at the refusal of his present, Alexander wrote to Phocion, “That he could not number those  
“among his friends, who declined to receive his favours.” Yet Phocion, even then, would not take the money. He desired the king, however, to set at liberty Echekratides the sophist, and Athenodorus the Imbrian; as also Demaratus and Sparto two Rhodians, who had been apprehended for certain crimes, and were detained in custody at Sardis. Alexander immediately granted his request; and afterward, when he sent Craterus into Macedon, he ordered him to give Phocion his choice of one of the four Asiatic cities Cios, Gergethus, Mylassa, and Elæa. At the same time he was to assure him, that the king would be much more disobliged, if he refused this second offer. But Phocion was not to be prevailed upon, and Alexander died soon afterward.

Phocion’s house is shown to this day in the borough of Melita, adorned with some plates of copper, but otherwise plain and homely.

Of his first wife we have no account, except that she was the sister of Cephisodotus the statuary. The other was a matron, not less celebrated among the Athenians for her modesty, her prudence, and the simplicity of her manners, than Phocion himself was for his probity. It happened one day, when some new tragedians were to act before a full audience, one of the players, who was to personate the queen, demanded a suitable mask (and attire), together with a large train of attendants richly dressed; and, as all these things were not granted him, he was out of humour and refused to make his appearance, by which means the whole business of the theatre was at a stand. But Melanthius, who was at the charge of the exhibition, pushed him in, and exclaimed,

“Thou seest Phocion’s wife appear in public with a single maid-servant; and dost thou come hither to display thy pride, and to corrupt our women?” As Melanthius spoke loud enough to be heard, the audience received what he had said with a thunder of applause. When this second wife of Phocion entertained in her house an Ionian lady, one of her friends, the lady showed her her bracelets and necklaces, glittering with all the magnificence that gold and jewels could give them. Upon which, the good matron said, “Phocion is my ornament, who is now called for the twentieth time to the command of the armies of Athens<sup>16</sup>.”

The son of Phocion was ambitious of trying his skill in the games of the Panathenæa<sup>17</sup>, and his father gave him leave, on condition that it was in the foot-races: not as setting any value upon the victory, but in order that the preparations and previous exercise might be of service to him; for the young man was of a disorderly turn, and addicted to drinking. Phocus (that was his name) gained the victory, and a number of his acquaintance desired to celebrate it by entertainments at their houses; but that favour was granted only to one. When Phocion came to the house, he saw every thing prepared in the most extravagant manner; and among the rest, wine mingled with spices provided for washing the feet of the guests. Upon which he called his son to him, and said, “Phocus, why do you suffer your friend thus to sully the honour of your victory<sup>18</sup>?”

In order completely to correct in his son this inclination to luxury, he carried him to Lacedæmon, and placed him among the young men, who were educated in all the rigour of the ancient discipline. This gave the Athenians no little offence, because it proved in

<sup>16</sup> The history of Rome, in the mother of the Gracchi, supplies a parallel and more celebrated anecdote.\*

<sup>17</sup> See the Life of Theseus, I. 29. and not. (62.)

<sup>18</sup> The victory was obtained by means of abstemiousness and laborious exercise, to which such indulgences were quite contrary.

what contempt he held the manners and customs of his own country. Demades one day said to him, "Why do not we persuade the people, Phocion, to adopt the Spartan form of government? If you choose it, I will propose a decree for it, and support it to the utmost of my power." "Yes, indeed," replied Phocion; "it would well become you, with all those perfumes and that pride of dress about you, to launch out in praise of frugality and Lycurgus."

Alexander wrote to demand from the Athenians a supply of ships, and the orators opposing it, the senate asked Phocion his opinion. "I am of opinion," said he, "that you should either have the sharpest swords yourselves, or keep upon good terms with those who have."

Pytheas the orator, when he first began to speak in public, had a torrent of words, and the most consummate assurance. Upon which Phocion said, "Is it for thee, who art but a novice among us, to prate in this manner?"

When Harpalus had traitorously carried off Alexander's treasures from Babylon, and came with them from Asia to Attica, a number of the mercenary orators flocked around him, in hopes of sharing the spoil. He gave to each of them some small taste of his wealth, but to Phocion he sent seven hundred talents; assuring him at the same time, that he might command his whole fortune, if he would take him under his protection. But his messengers found a disagreeable reception: Phocion told them, that "Harpalus should repent it, if he continued thus to corrupt the city;" And the traitor, dejected at his disappointment, stopped his hand. A few days afterward a general assembly being held on this affair, he found that the men who had taken his money, in order to exculpate themselves, accused him to the people; while Phocion, who had declined accepting any part of it, was still desirous of serving him, as far as might be consistent with the public good. Harpalus



therefore again paid his court to him, and took every method to shake his integrity, but he found the fortress on all sides impregnable. He subsequently applied to Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, and with a degree of success which gave just cause of offence; for all the world observed how intimate he was with him, and that all his business passed through his hands. He even employed Charicles upon the death of his mistress Pythionice, who had brought him a daughter, to get a superb monument erected over her, and for that purpose furnished him with enormous sums. This commission, dishonourable as it was in itself, became much more so by the manner in which it was fulfilled. For the monument is still to be seen at Hermus, on the road between Athens and Eleusis; and there appears nothing in it answerable to the amount of thirty talents, which was the charge that Charicles brought in<sup>19</sup>. After the death of Harpalus, Charicles and Phocion took his daughter under their guardianship, and educated her with great care. At last, Charicles was called to an account by the public for the money received from Harpalus; upon which he desired Phocion to support him with his interest, and to appear with him in court. But Phocion answered, "I made you my son-in-law only for just and honourable purposes."

The first person who brought the news of Alexander's death, was Asclepiades the son of Hipparchus. But Demades advised the people not to give any credit to it; "For, if Alexander were dead," said he, "the whole world would smell the carcass<sup>20</sup>." And Phocion likewise, observing the Athenians elated and inclined to raise new commo-

<sup>19</sup> Yet Pausanias says, it was one of the most complete and curious performances of all the ancient works in Greece. According to him, it stood on the other side of the river Cephissus. (L.) Hermus was an Attic borough, in the tribe Acamantis, situated not far from the Piræus.\*

<sup>20</sup> This passage is commended by Demetrius Phalereus, as exhibiting at once the united beauties of emphasis, allegory, and hyperbole.\*

tions, endeavoured to keep them quiet. Many of the orators however ascended the Rostrum, and assured the people that Asclepiades' tidings were true: "Well then," said Phocion, "if Alexander is dead to-day, he will be so to-morrow, and the day following; so that we may deliberate upon that event at our leisure, and take our measures with safety."


When Leosthenes by his intrigues had involved Athens in the Lamian<sup>21</sup> war, and saw how much Phocion was displeased at it, he scoffingly asked him, "What good he had done his country, during the many years that he had been general?" "And dost thou think it nothing then," replied Phocion, "for the Athenians to be buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors?" As Leosthenes continued to harangue the people in the most arrogant and pompous manner, Phocion said; "Young man, your speeches are like cypress-trees, large and lofty, but without fruit." Hyperides rose up and said, "Tell us then, when will it be proper for the Athenians to go to war?" Phocion answered, "When I see the young men keeping within the bounds of order and propriety, the rich liberal in their contributions, and the orators no longer robbing the public."

Most people admired the forces raised by Leosthenes: when they asked Phocion however his opinion of them, he replied, "I like them very well for a short race<sup>22</sup>, but I dread the consequence of a

<sup>21</sup> In the original it is the 'Grecian war;' and it might, indeed, be correctly so called, because it was carried on against the Macedonians by the Grecian confederates. But it was commonly denominated the 'Lamian war,' from Antipater's being defeated and shut up in Lamia. The Boeotians were the only nation, which did not join the Grecian league. (Diod. Sic. xviii. 8—18.)

<sup>22</sup> Or rather, 'I think they may run very well from the starting-post to the extremity of the course; but I know not how they will hold it back again.' The Greeks had two sorts of races: the *stadium*, in which they only ran forward to the goal; and the *dolichus*, in which they ran forward to the goal and back again.

“long one. The supplies, the ships, the soldiers, are all very good; but they are the last, that we shall be able to produce.” The event justified his observation. Leosthenes, at first, gained high reputation by his exploits; for he defeated the Boeotians in a pitched battle, and drove Antipater into Lamia. On this the Athenians, buoyant upon the tide of hope, spent their time in mutual entertainments, and sacrifices to the gods. Many of them thought, likewise, that they had a fine opportunity of rallying Phocion, and asked him, “Whether he should not have wished to have achieved such great things?” “I certainly should,” he replied, “but still I should have advised not to attempt them\*.” And when letters and messengers from the army came one after another, with accounts of farther successes, he said, “When shall we have done conquering?”

Leosthenes died soon afterward; and the party which wished the war to be continued, fearing that if Phocion were elected general he would be for putting an end to it, instructed an obscure man to make a motion in the assembly importing, “That as an old friend and school-fellow of Phocion, he desired the people to spare him, and preserve him for the most pressing occasions, because they had not another worthy to be compared with him.” At the same time he was to recommend Antiphilus for the command. The Athenians embracing the proposal, Phocion stood up and told them, “He never was that man’s school-fellow, neither had he any acquaintance with him; but from this moment,”  turning to him, “I shall number thee among

\* See also in his *Apophthegms*.—“The failure of certain measures upon the Continent, of which Mr. Fox did not approve, during the late war, gave him no opportunity of replying as Phocion did. But, if such an opportunity had occurred, he would not have wanted firmness to make such a reply. partly from confidence in his own judgement, and partly from joy at the success of our country and its allies, though it should have far exceeded all reasonable expectations.” (*Parr’s Character of Fox*, II. 571.)

“ my best friends, since thou hast advised what is most agreeable to myself.”

The Athenians were strongly inclined to prosecute the war with the Bœotians, and Phocion at first as strongly opposed it. His friends representing to him, that this violent opposition of his would provoke them to put him to death; “ They may do it, if they please,” said he: “ It will be unjustly, if I advise them for the best; but justly, if I should prevaricate.” When he saw, however, that they were not to be dissuaded, and that they continued to besiege him with their clamours, he ordered a herald to make proclamation; “ That all the Athenians, who were not more than sixty years above the age of puberty, should take five days’ provisions, and follow him immediately from the assembly to the field.”

This raised a considerable tumult, and the old men began to exclaim against the order, and to walk off. Upon which, Phocion said, “ Does this disturb you; when I, who am fourscore years old, shall be at your head?” This short remonstrance had its effect; it made them quiet and tractable. When Micion marched a strong corps of Macedonians and mercenaries to Rhamnus, and ravaged the sea-coast and the adjacent country, Phocion with a body of Athenians advanced against him. Upon this occasion, a number of them were extremely impertinent, in pretending to dictate or point out to him how to proceed. One counselled him to secure such an eminence, another to send his cavalry to such a post, and a third to occupy such a place for a camp. “ Heavens!” said Phocion, “ how many generals we have, and how few soldiers!”

When he had drawn up his army, one of the in-

<sup>23</sup> Τὰς ἀχρι ἐξήκοντα εἶναι ἀφ’ ἧσθς has commonly been understood to mean “ from fourteen to sixty;” but from the following passage it appears, that it should be understood as we have rendered it. Ὁ γὰρ Ἀγσιλάος, ὡς ἐν τισσαρεσκοντα γεγονώς ἀφ’ ἑβηλίας, καὶ στρατῶος ἐξ ἑβηλίας ἀφῆκεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. (Vit. Ages. Ed. Bryan. iii. 396.)

fantry advanced before the ranks; but upon seeing an enemy stepping forward to meet him, his heart failed him, and he drew back to his post. Upon which Phocion said, "Young man, aren't you ashamed to desert your station twice in one day; that in which I had placed you, and that in which you had placed yourself?" He then immediately attacked the enemy, routed them, and killed great numbers, among whom was their general Micion. The confederate army of the Greeks in Thessaly likewise defeated Antipater in a great battle, though he had been joined by Leonatus and the Macedonians from Asia. In this action Antiphilus commanded the foot, and Menon the Thessalian horse: Leonatus was among the slain.

Soon after this, Craterus passed over from Asia with a numerous army, and another battle was fought at Cranon<sup>24</sup>, in which the Greeks were worsted. The loss, indeed, was not considerable; and it was principally owing to the disobedience of the soldiers, commanded by young officers who did not exert a proper authority. But this joined to the intrigues of Antipater among the cities, made the Greeks desert the league, and shamefully betray the liberty of their country. As Antipater marched directly toward Athens, Demosthenes and Hyperides fled out of the city. As for Demades, he had not been able to any extent to answer the fines laid upon him; for he had been seven times amerced for proposing edicts contrary to law. He had also been declared 'infamous,' and incapable of speaking in the assembly. But now finding himself at full liberty, he moved for an order that ambassadors should be sent to Antipater with full powers to treat of peace. The people, alarmed at their present situation, called for Phocion, declaring that he was the only man whom they could trust. Upon which he said, "If you had followed my counsels, we should not have had now to deliberate on

<sup>24</sup> A city of Thessaly Pelasgiotis, in the plains of Tempe.\*

“such an affair.” Thus the decree passed, and Phocion was despatched to Antipater, who then lay with his army in Cadmea<sup>25</sup>, and was preparing to enter Attica.

His first requisition was, that Antipater would finish the treaty before he left his camp. Craterus said it was an unreasonable demand, that they should remain there a burthen to their friends and allies, when they might subsist at the expense of their enemies. But Antipater took him by the hand, and said, “Let us indulge Phocion in this particular.” As to the conditions, he insisted that the Athenians should leave them to him, as he had done at Lamia to their general Leosthenes.

Phocion went and reported this preliminary to the Athenians, with which they of necessity complied; and he then returned to Thebes with other ambassadors, the principal of whom was Xenocrates the philosopher. For such were the virtue and reputation of the latter, that the Athenians thought there could be nothing in human nature so insolent, savage, and ferocious, as not to feel some impressions of respect and reverence at the sight of him. It happened, however, otherwise with Antipater, through his extreme brutality and antipathy to virtue: for though he embraced the rest with great cordiality, he would not even speak to Xenocrates; which gave him occasion to say, “Antipater does well in being ashamed before me, and me only, of his injurious designs against Athens.”

Xenocrates afterward attempted to speak, but Antipater in great anger interrupted him, and would not suffer him to proceed<sup>26</sup>. To Phocion’s discourse

<sup>25</sup> Dacier without any necessity, supposes that Plutarch uses the word ‘Cadmea’ for Bœotia. In a poetical way it is, indeed, capable of being so understood; but it appears obviously from what follows, that Antipater was then actually at Thebes, and probably in the Cadmea or citadel.

<sup>26</sup> Yet he had behaved to him with kindness, when he was sent to ransom the prisoners. Antipater, upon that occasion, took the first

however he gave attention, and replied that he should grant the Athenians peace, and consider them as his friends, upon the following conditions: "In the first place," said he, "they must deliver up to me Demosthenes and Hyperides. They must, next, place their government on the ancient footing, when none but the rich were advanced to the great offices of state. A third article is, that they must receive a garrison into Munychia: And a fourth, that they must pay the expenses of the war." All the new deputies, except Xenocrates, thought themselves happy in these terms. But that philosopher said, "Antipater deals favourably with us, if he considers us as slaves; but hardly, if he looks upon us as freemen." Phocion begged strenuously for a remission of the article of the garrison; and Antipater is said to have answered, "We will grant thee every thing, Phocion, except what would be the ruin both of thee<sup>27</sup> and of ourselves." Others say, that Antipater asked Phocion, "Whether, if he excused the Athenians on the subject of the garrison, he would engage for their observing the other articles, and raising no new commotions?" As Phocion hesitated at this question, Callimedon surnamed Carabus, a violent man and an enemy to popular government, started up and exclaimed; "Antipater, why do you suffer this man to amuse you? If he should give you his word,

opportunity of inviting him to supper; and Xenocrates answered in those verses of Homer, which Ulysses addressed to Circe (*Odys. x.* 383.) when she was pressing him to partake of the delicacies she had provided:

Ill fits it me, whose friends are sunk to beasts,  
To quaff thy bowls, and riot in thy feasts.  
We would'st thou please? For them thy cares employ;  
And them to me restore, and me to joy.

Antipater was so charmed with the happy application of these verses, that he released all the prisoners.

<sup>27</sup> As the Athenians had almost always, in their state of independence, proved ungrateful to their great public benefactors.\*

“ would you depend upon it, and not abide by your first resolutions ?”

Thus the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison, which was commanded by Menyllus a moderate man and the friend of Phocion. But that precaution appeared to have been dictated by a wanton vanity; rather an abuse of power to the purposes of insolence, than a measure necessary for the conqueror's affairs<sup>28</sup>. It was more severely felt by the Athenians, on account of the time at which the garrison entered; which was the twentieth day of the month Boëdromion, when they were celebrating the Great Mysteries, and the very day upon which they carried the god Bacchus in procession from the city to Eleusis. The disturbances experienced in the ceremonies gave occasion to many to reflect upon the difference of the divine dispensations, with respect to Athens in the present and in ancient times: “ Formerly,” said they, “ mystic visions were seen, and voices heard, to the great happiness of the republic, and the terror and astonishment of our enemies. But now during the same ceremonies, the gods look down without concern upon the severest misfortunes of Greece, and suffer the holiest and what was once the most agreeable time in the year, to be profaned and rendered the date of our heaviest calamities.”

A few days before, the Athenians had received an oracle from Dodona, which warned them to secure the promontories of Diana<sup>29</sup> against strangers. And about this time, on washing the sacred fillets with which they bind the mystic beds, instead of their

<sup>28</sup> Our author, though in general a very able and refined politician, seems in this place to be out in his politics. For what, but a garrison, could have supported an oligarchy in a nation so much in love with popular government, or have restrained them from taking up arms the very first opportunity?

<sup>29</sup> Supposed to be poetically so called, because mountainous places and forests were generally sacred to that goddess. At least, we know of no promontories in Attica, actually so denominated. (See Callim. Hymn. Dian.)



usual lively purple they changed to a faint dead colour. What added to the wonder was, that all the linen belonging to private persons, which had been washed in the same water, retained its former lustre. And as a priest was washing a pig in that part of the port called Cantharus<sup>31</sup>, a large fish seized the hinder parts, and devoured them as far as the belly; by which the gods plainly announced, that they would lose the lower parts of the city next the sea, and preserve the upper.

The garrison commanded by Meayllus did no kind of injury to the citizens. But the number excluded, by another article of the treaty (on account of their poverty) from a share in the government, was upward of twelve thousand. Such of these, as remained in Athens, appeared to be in a state of misery and disgrace; and those who migrated to a city and lands in Thrace, assigned them by Antipater, looked upon themselves as no better than a conquered people transported into a foreign country.

The death of Demosthenes in Calauria, and that of Hyperides at Cleonæ, of which we have elsewhere given an account, made the Athenians remember Alexander and Philip with a degree of regret, which seemed almost inspired by affection<sup>32</sup>. They were circumstanced indeed, at this time, precisely like the countryman afterward upon Antigonus' death. Those, who killed that prince and reigned in his stead, were so oppressive and tyrannical, that a Phry-

<sup>31</sup> In the text it is *εν καθαρω λιμηνι*, 'in a clean part of the harbour.' But we choose to receive the correction, which Florent. Christian has given us, in his notes upon Aristophanes' comedy of the 'Peace.' There were three havens in the Piræus, the principal of which was called 'Cantharus.' The other two were the Aphrodisium, and the Zeum. The passage in Aristophanes is:

*εν περαιω δε πρ' ες καθαρω λιμην;*

<sup>32</sup> The cruel disposition of Antipater, who had insisted upon Demosthenes and Hyperides being given up to his revenge, made the conduct of Philip and Alexander comparatively amiable. (L.) Calauria was an island situated at the extremity of the Saronic gulf; Cleonæ, a city of Argolis.\*

gian peasant who was digging the ground, being asked what he was seeking for, replied with a sigh, "I am seeking for Antigonus." In the same manner many of the Athenians now expressed equal concern, when they remembered the noble and generous turn of mind in those kings, and how easily their anger had always been appeased: whereas Antipater, who endeavoured to conceal his power under the mask of a private man, a mean habit, and a plain diet, was infinitely more rigorous to those under his command, and in fact an oppressor and a tyrant. Yet, upon Phocion's request, he recalled many persons from exile: and to such, as he did not choose to restore to their own country, he granted a commodious situation; not forcing them to reside, like other exiles, beyond the Ceraunian mountains<sup>32</sup> and the promontory of Tenearus, but suffering them to remain in Greece and settle in Peloponnesus. Of this number was Agathonides, the informer.

In some other instances, likewise, he governed with equity. He directed the police of Athens in a just and moderate manner; raising the modest and the good to the principal employments, and wholly excluding from office the dissatisfied and the seditious, so that having no opportunity to excite troubles, the spirit of faction died away: He taught them, likewise, by little and little to love the country, and apply themselves to agriculture. Perceiving too that Xenocrates was paying the stranger's tax, he proposed to give him his freedom: but he declined the offer, saying; "I will never become a member of that government, the establishment of which I was publicly delegated to oppose."

Menyllus one day offering Phocion a considerable sum of money, the latter observed, "Menyllus is not a greater man than Alexander; neither have

<sup>32</sup> These were an extensive chain of mountains in Epirus. Tenearus was a cape in Laconia, *hodie* C. Matapan, near which was a cove, the *Tenariae fauces* of Virg. Georg. iv. 467., supposed to be the entrance to the infernal regions.\*

“ I greater reason now, than I then had, to receive “ a present.” The governor however still pressed him to take it, at least for his son Phocus ; but he replied, “ If Phocus becomes sober, his father’s “ estate will be sufficient for him ; and, if he continues dissolute, nothing will be so.” To Antipater he returned a most severe answer, when he wished him to do something inconsistent with his probity. “ Antipater,” said he, “ cannot have me both for a “ friend and a flatterer.” And Antipater himself used to remark, “ Of my two Athenian friends Phocion and Demades ; it is impossible either to influence the one, or to satisfy the other.” Phocion indeed could produce his poverty, as a proof of his virtue ; for, though he had so often commanded the Athenian armies, and had been honoured with the friendship of so many kings, he grew old in indigence : whereas Demades paraded with his wealth, even in some instances of an illegal kind ; for there was a law at Athens, that no foreigner should appear in the chorusses upon the stage under the penalty of a thousand drachmas, to be paid by the person who gave the entertainment. Yet Demades in his exhibition brought forward foreigners exclusively, to the number of a hundred, and paid the thousand drachmas’ fine for each. And at the nuptials of his son Demea he observed, “ When I married your “ mother, the next neighbour hardly knew of it ; but “ to the expense of your marriage, kings and princes “ are contributors.”

The Athenians were continually importuning Phocion to persuade Antipater to withdraw the garrison ; but whether it was that he despaired of success, or rather that he perceived the people under the fear of that rod, more sober and submissive to government, he always declined the commission. The only thing which he asked and obtained of Antipater was, that the money which the Athenians were to pay for the charges of the war, should not be immediately advanced, but that a longer term should be granted.

The Athenians, finding that Phocion would not interfere in the affair of the garrison, applied to Demades, who readily undertook it. In consequence of this, he and his son set off to Macedon. It should seem, his evil genius led him thither; for he arrived just at the time when Antipater was in his last illness, and when Cassander (now absolute master of every thing) had intercepted a letter written by Demades to Antigonus in Asia, inviting him to come over and seize Greece and Macedon, "which," he said, "hung only upon an old rotten stalk:" so he contemptuously styled Antipater. Cassander no sooner saw him, than he ordered him to be arrested: and first he killed his son before his eyes, and so near him, that the blood spouted upon him and filled his bosom; after which, having reproached him with his ingratitude and perfidy, he slew him likewise.

Antipater, a little before his death, had appointed Polyperchon general, and given Cassander the command of a thousand men. But Cassander, far from being satisfied with such an appointment, hastened to seize the supreme power; and immediately despatched Nicanor to take the command of the garrison from Menyllus, and to secure Munychia, before the news of his father's death should have transpired. This scheme was carried into execution; and a few days afterward, the Athenians receiving information of Antipater's death accused Phocion of having been privy to that event, and of having concealed it out of friendship to Nicanor. Phocion, however, gave himself no pain about it: on the contrary, he conversed familiarly with Nicanor, and by his assiduities not only rendered him kind and obliging to the Athenians, but inspired him with an ambition of distinguishing himself by exhibiting games and shows to the people.

In the mean time Polyperchon, to whom the care of the king's person had been committed<sup>33</sup>, in order

<sup>33</sup> The son of Alexander by Roxana, who was yet very young.

to countermine Cassander wrote letters to the Athenians, announcing, "That the king restored to them "their ancient form of government;" by which all the people had access to public employments. This was a snare laid for Phocion. For being desirous, as quickly appeared from his actions, of making himself master of Athens, he was sensible that he could not effect any thing so long as Phocion remained in the way. He saw likewise, that his expulsion would be no difficult task, when all who had been excluded from a share in the administration were re-admitted, and the orators and public informers once more in possession of the tribunals.

As these letters raised great commotions among the people, Nicanor was desired to speak "to them upon this subject in the Piræus; and for that purpose he entered their assembly, trusting his person with Phocion. Dercyllus, who commanded for the king in the adjacent country, laid a scheme to seize him; but Nicanor getting timely information of his project guarded against it, and soon evinced that he would wreak his vengeance on the city. Upon this, Phocion was blamed for having let him escape, when he had him in his hands; but he answered, "He "could confide in Nicanor's promises, and 'saw no "reason to suspect him of any evil design. Be the "issue however," he subjoined, "what it may, I "had rather be found suffering, than doing what is "unjust."

This answer of his, if we examine it with respect to himself only, will appear to be entirely the result of fortitude and honour; but when we consider that he hazarded the safety of his country, and (what is more) that he was general and first magistrate, I know not whether he did not violate a stronger and

and who was subsequently with his mother, &c. put to death by Cassander. See the Life of Alexander, Vol. IV. p. 353. not. (198.)\*  
 \* 34 Nicanor knew, that Polyperchon's proposal to restore the democracy was merely a snare, and he wished to open the eyes of the Athenians to his designs. See Diod. Sic. xvi.

more respectable obligation. It is in vain to allege, that Phocion was afraid of involving Athens in a war, and for that reason declined to apprehend Nicanor; and that he only urged the obligations of justice and good faith, with a view of inducing that chief aim by a grateful sense of such behaviour to be quiet, and abstain from injuring the Athenians. For the truth is, he had such confidence in Nicanor, that when he received accounts from several quarters of his designs upon the Piræus, of his having ordered a body of mercenaries to Salamis, and even bribed some of the inhabitants of the Piræus, he would not give them any credit. Nay, when Philomedes of the borough of Lampra got an edict made, that all the Athenians should take up arms and obey Phocion's orders, he never thought of acting upon it, till Nicanor had brought his troops out of Munychia, and carried his trenches round the Piræus. He would then, indeed, have led the Athenians against him; but by this time they were become mutinous, and looked upon him with contempt.

At that juncture arrived Alexander the son of Polyperchon with an army, under pretence of assisting the city against Nicanor; but in reality to avail himself of its fatal divisions, and to seize it if possible for himself. For the exiles who entered the town along with him, the foreigners, and the citizens who had been stigmatised as 'infamous,' with other mean people, resorted to him; and all together made up a strange disorderly assembly, by whose suffrages the command was taken from Phocion, and other generals appointed in his stead: And had not Alexander been seen alone near the walls in conference with Nicanor, and by repeated interviews given the Athenians cause of suspicion, the city could not have escaped the danger, in which it was then involved. The orator Agnonides immediately singled out Phocion, and accused him of treason; which so much alarmed Callimedon and Pericles<sup>35</sup>, that they fled out

<sup>35</sup> 'Pericles' here, looks like an erroneous reading. We subse-

of the city. Phocion, with such of his friends as still adhered to him, repaired to Polyperchon. Solon of Plataeæ and Dinarchus of Corinth, who were deemed the friends and confidants of Polyperchon, out of regard to Phocion desired to be of the party. But Dinarchus falling ill by the way, they were obliged to stop many days at Elateæ<sup>36</sup>. In the mean time, Archestratus proposed a decree, and Agnonides got it passed, that deputies should be sent to Polyperchon with an accusation against Phocion.

The two parties reached Polyperchon at the same time, as he was upon his march with the king<sup>37</sup> near Pharuges, a town of Phocis situated at the foot of Mount Acrorum, now called Galate. There Polyperchon placed the king under a golden canopy, and his friends on each side of him; and before he proceeded to any other business, issued orders that Dinarchus should be put to the torture, and afterward despatched. This done, he gave the Athenians audience. But as they filled the place with noise and tumult, interrupting each other with mutual accusations to the council, Agnonides pressed forward, and said; "Put us all into one cage, and send us back to Athens, to render an account of our conduct." This proposal made the king laugh: but the Macedonians who attended upon that occasion, and the strangers who were drawn thither by curiosity, were desirous of hearing the cause, and therefore made signs to the deputies to argue the matter there. It was far from being conducted, however, with impartiality. Polyperchon often interrupted Phocion, who was at last so provoked, that he struck his staff upon the ground, and would speak no more.

quently find not 'Pericles,' but 'Charicles,' mentioned along with Callimedes, and Charicles was Phocion's son-in-law.

<sup>36</sup> A city of Phocis.

<sup>37</sup> This was Arrhidæus, the natural son of Philip. After some of Alexander's generals for their own purposes had raised him to the throne, he took the name of Philip, and reigned six years and a few months. See the Life of Alexander, and note above referred to, p. 38.

Hegemon said, "Polyperchon himself could bear witness to his affectionate regard for the people;" and that general answered, "Do you come hither to slander me before the king?" Upon this the king started up, and was going to run Hegemon through with his spear; but Polyperchon prevented him, and the council immediately broke up.

The guards then surrounded Phocion and his party, except a few, who being at some distance, muffled themselves up and fled. Clitus carried the prisoners to Athens, under colour of having them tried there, but in reality only to have them put to death, as persons already condemned. The manner of conducting the business rendered it a still more melancholy scene. The prisoners were carried in carts through the Ceramicus to the theatre, where Clitus shut them up till the Archons had assembled the people. From this assembly neither slaves, nor foreigners, nor persons stigmatised as 'infamous' were excluded; the tribunal and the theatre were open to all. The king's letter was then recited, the purport of which was, "That he had found the prisoners guilty of treason; but that he left it to the Athenians, as freemen who were to be governed by their own laws, to pass sentence upon them."

At the same time, Clitus presented them to the people. The best of the citizens, when they saw Phocion, appeared greatly dejected, and covering their faces with their mantles began to weep. One of them, however, had the courage to say, "Since the king leaves the determination of so important a matter to the people, it would be proper to command all slaves and strangers to depart." But the populace, instead of agreeing to that motion, cried out, "It would be much more proper to stone all the favourers of oligarchy, all the enemies of the people." After which no one attempted to offer any thing in Phocion's behalf. It was with much difficulty that he himself got permission to speak. At last silence being obtained, he said, "Do you



“ design to take away my life unjustly, or justly?” Some of them answering, “ Justly ;” he said, “ How can you know, whether it will be justly or not, if you do not hear me first ?” As he did not however find them in the least inclined to listen to him, he advanced some paces forward, and said : “ Citizens of Athens, I acknowledge that I have done you injustice, and for my faults in the administration I adjudge myself guilty of death ;” but why will you put to death these men, that have never injured you ?” “ Because,” replied the populace, “ they are friends to you.” Upon which he drew back, and resigned himself quietly to his fate.

Agnomides then read the decree, which he had drawn up : according to this, the people were to pronounce by their suffrages, whether the prisoners appeared to be guilty or not ; and, if guilty, they were to suffer death. When the decree had been read, some demanded an additional clause for putting Phocion to the torture before execution, and insisted that the rack and it’s managers should be immediately introduced. But Agnomides, observing Clitus displeased at that proposal, and looking upon it himself as a barbarous and detestable thing, said ; “ When we take that villain Callimedon, let us put him to the torture : but indeed, my fellow-citizens, I cannot consent that Phocion should have such hard measure.” Upon this, one of the better-disposed Athenians cried out, “ Thou art certainly right ; for if we torture Phocion, what must we do to thee ?” There was however hardly one negative, when the sentence of death was proposed : all the people gave their voices standing ; and some of them even crowned themselves with flowers, as if it had been a matter of festivity. With Phocion, there were Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. As for Demetrius the Phalerean, Callimedon, Chari-

<sup>38</sup> It was the custom for the person accused to lay some penalty upon himself. Phocion chose the highest, thinking it might serve to reconcile the Athenians to his friends, but he was disappointed.

cles, and some others who were absent, upon them likewise the same sentence was passed.

After the assembly was dismissed, the convicts were ordered to prison. The embraces of their friends and relations melted them into tears; and they all, except Phocion, went on bewailing their fate. His countenance remained the same, as when the people sent him out to command their armies, and the beholders could not but admire his invincible firmness and magnanimity. Some of his enemies indeed reviled him as he went along, and one of them even spit in his face; upon which he turned to the magistrates, and said, "Will nobody correct this fellow's rudeness?" Thudippus, when he saw the executioner pounding the hemlock, began to lament his hard fortune in suffering unjustly on Phocion's account. "What then," said the venerable sage, "does it not content you to die with Phocion?" One of his friends asking him, whether or no he had any commands to his son; "Yes," said he, "by all means enjoin him from me, to forget the ill treatment which I have experienced from the Athenians." And when Nicocles, the most faithful of his friends, entreated that he would let him drink the poison before him; "This," said he, "Nicocles, is a hard request, and the thing must give me great uneasiness: but, since I have obliged you in every instance through life, I will do the same still."

When they came all to drink, the quantity proved insufficient; and the executioner refused to prepare more, except he had twelve drachmas paid him, which was the price of a full draught. As this occasioned a troublesome delay, Phocion called one of his friends, and said; "Since one cannot die gratis at Athens, give the man his money." The execution occurred on the nineteenth day of Munychion, when there was a procession of horsemen in honour of Jupiter. As the cavalcade passed by, some took off their chaplets from their heads; others shed tears, as they looked at the prison-doors; and all who had

not hearts entirely savage, or were not corrupted by rage and envy, considered it as most impious not to have reprieved them at least for that day, if but to have kept the city during it's festival unpolluted.

The enemies of Phocion however, as if something had been wanting to their triumph, procured an order that his body should not be suffered to remain within the bounds of Attica, and that no Athenian should furnish fire for the funeral-pile. No friend, therefore, durst touch it ; but one Conopion, who lived by such services, for a sum of money carried the corpse out of the territories of Eleusis, and got fire for the burning of it in those of Megara. A woman of Megara, who happened to assist at the ceremony with her maid-servants, raised a cenotaph upon the spot, and performed the customary libations. The bones she gathered up carefully into her lap, carried them by night to her own house, and interred them under the hearth. At the same time, she thus addressed the domestic gods ; “ Ye guardians of this place, to you I commit the remains of this good man. Do you restore them to the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall once more listen to the dictates of wisdom.”

The interval was not long, before the situation of their affairs taught them, what a vigilant magistrate and what a guardian of the virtues of justice and sobriety they had lost. The people erected his statue in brass, and buried his remains at the public expense. Agnonides, his principal accuser, they put to death, in consequence of a specific decree for that purpose. Epicurus and Demophilus, the other two, fled from Athens, but afterward fell into the hands of Phocion's son, who punished them as they deserved. This son of his was, in other respects, a worthless man. He was in love with a slave, who belonged to a trader in such matters ; and happening one day to hear Theodorus the atheist contend in the Lyceum, “ That if it be no shame to ransom a friend, it is no shame to redeem a mistress ;” the discourse was so

flattering to his passion, that he immediately went and released his female friend <sup>39</sup>.

The proceedings against Phocion reminded the Greeks of those against Socrates, as in both instances equally unjust, and in their consequences to the city where they took place, equally calamitous <sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> It appears from the ancient comedy, that it was no uncommon thing for the young men of Athens to take their mistresses out of such shops; and, after they had released them from servitude, to marry them.

<sup>40</sup> Socrates had been put to death eighty-two years before. B. C. 400. (L.) In his case, however, the Athenians showed greater reverence for their religious rites, by reprieving the illustrious convict till the return of their sacred vessel from its annual voyage to Delos.\*

THE  
L I F E  
OF  
CATO THE YOUNGER.

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## SUMMARY.

*Birth and character of Cato. His particular disposition: Firmness and solidity. He rescues a boy of his own age. His popularity among his co-evals: Indignation at Sylla's cruelties: Fraternal affection. He studies moral and political philosophy. His first public harangue. He strengthens his constitution by laborious exercise. He spends part of his nights in philosophical conferences, and refuses to comply with the corrupt fashion of his times. Marries Atilia. Makes his first campaign under Celerus: Re-establishes discipline in the troops under his command: Visits Athenodorus. Funeral honours paid by him to his brother Cyprio. He visits Asia: His manner of travelling. His adventure at Artioch: Reception by Pompey. He returns king Deiotarus' presents: Is elected quaestor. His rigorous discharge of the office. He has Sylla's bravoës summoned and executed. His indefatigable diligence. He purchases an account of the public expenditure from Sylla's time to his own: Refuses to undertake any business, when the senate is sitting. His great reputation. He sets out for Lucania, but returns to apply for the tribuneship: Succeeds, and impeaches Murena. Supports Cicero in the affair of Catiline's conspiracy: Determines the senate to inflict capital punishment on the conspirators. His sisters and wives. He declares that he will never let Pompey enter armed into the city: Intrepidly attends the assembly of the people. Murena carries him off into the temple of Castor. Metellus, disappointed of his purpose, departs to join Pompey in Asia. Cato obtains a triumph for Lucullus: Refuses*

to give Pompey and his son his two nieces in marriage. Combination and intrigues of Cæsar and Pompey. Cato, on Cicero's expositulation, takes the oath in favour of the Agrarian law: Arrested by Cæsar's order, and immediately released: Sent to Cyprus. His prudent advice to Ptolemy, king of Egypt. He exposes to sale the furniture, &c. of that prince: Quarrels with Munatius, and is reconciled to him. His mode of conveying home the public treasure. Honours paid him on his return. He opposes Cicero in his attempt to annul Clodius' tribunitial edicts: Prevails on Domitius to contest the consulship with Pompey and Cæsar. Solicits the prætorship, but without success; Resists the distribution of the consular provinces, proposed by Trebonius. His fruitless representations to Pompey. He proposes a law against corrupt elections. Deposit made by the candidates. Envy excited by his virtue. He openly accuses Pompey of aspiring to absolute power: Gets Favonius elected ædile, and induces him to introduce simplicity into his theatrical entertainments: Moves, that Pompey should be created sole consul. His impartial conduct as judge. He offers himself for the consulship, but is rejected; Exposes Cæsar's designs to the senate? Advises them to put every thing into Pompey's hands, and leaves Rome with him. His good advice to Pompey: Why not entrusted with the supreme naval command. Pompey's victory owing to Cato's harangue. The depôt at Dyrrhachium left in his charge after the overthrow at Pharsalia. He passes over into Africa; joins Scipio and Varus. Undertakes the command and defence of Utica. Receives intelligence of Scipio's defeat; Encourages his friends with some success, for a short time. Rejects the proposal of expelling, or putting to the sword, the inhabitants of Utica. His anxiety for the senators of his party. He refuses all intercession with Cæsar in his favour: Secures the escape of the senators; declines Lucius Cæsar's offer to procure his pardon: Discusses many questions in philosophy after supper; Inquires for his sword; Resents the attempts made to reconcile him to life; Kills himself. Cæsar's fine observation on hearing of his death. Death of Cato's son.

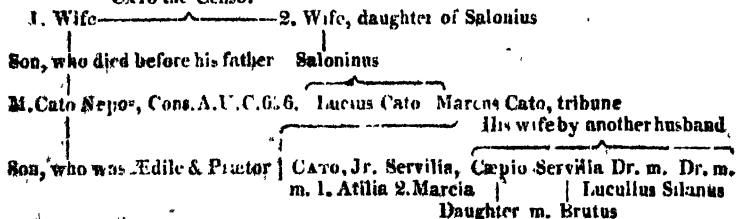
**T**HE family of Cato had it's first lustre and distinction from his great grand-father, Cato the Censor<sup>1</sup>, a man whose virtue (as we have observed in his Life) ranked him with persons of the highest reputation and authority in Rome. The Utican Cato, of whom we are now speaking, was left an orphan, together with his brother Cæpio and his sister Porcia. He had also another sister called Servilia, but she was only his sister by the mother's side<sup>2</sup>. These orphans were brought up in the house of Livius Drusus their mother's brother, who at that time had great influence in the administration; an influence 'acquired by his extraordinary eloquence, eminent wisdom, and loftiness of spirit, in which he vied with the best of the Romans.

Cato, we are told, from his infancy discovered in his voice, his look, and his very diversions a firmness and solidity, which neither passion nor any thing else could move. He pursued all his objects with a vigour far above his years, and a resolution that nothing could resist. Those, who were inclined to flatter him, were sure to meet with a severe repulse; and to those, who attempted to intimidate him, he was

<sup>1</sup> Cato the Censor, at a very late period in life, married Salonia, the daughter of his own steward. The family from that second match, however, flourished when that derived from the first became extinct.

<sup>2</sup> The genealogy, to which reference is made at the end of the Censor's life, is here given more in detail from A. Gell. xiii. 19.

CATO the Censor



Servilia was not his only sister by the mother's side. There were three of them: One, the mother of Brutus who killed Cæsar; another married to Lucullus; and a third to Junius Silanus. Cæpio, likewise, was his brother by the mother's side.

still more untractable. Scarcely any thing could make him laugh, and it was but rarely that his countenance was softened to a smile. He was not quickly, or easily, moved to anger; but his resentment, when once excited, was far from placable.

His apprehension was slow, and his learning came with difficulty; what he had once learned, however, he long retained. It is, indeed, a common case for persons of quick parts to have weak memories, but what is most laboriously gained is always best preserved; for every hard-earned acquisition of science is a kind of annealing upon the mind. The inflexibility of his disposition seems, also, to have retarded his progress in learning<sup>3</sup>. For, to learn is to submit to a new impression; and those submit the most easily, who have the least power of resistance. Thus the young are more persuasible than the old, and the sick than the healthful; and, in general, assent is most easily won from those, who are least able to find objections. Yet Cato is said to have been very obedient to his preceptor, and to have done whatever he was enjoined; only he would always inquire the reason, and ask why it was enjoined. His preceptor Sarpedon, indeed (for that was his name) was a man of engaging manners, who chose rather to govern by reason, than by violence.

While Cato was yet a child, the Italian allies demanded to be admitted citizens of Rome. Popædus Silo, a man of great name as a soldier and of great authority among his people, had a friendship with Drusus, and lodged a long time in his house during this application. As he was very familiar with the children, he said to them one day, "Come, my good children, desire your uncle to assist us in our solicitation for this freedom." Cæpio smiled, and readily gave his promise; but Cato made no answer. And as he was observed to look with a fixed

<sup>3</sup> Δυσπιστος, 'slow to believe,' is the common reading: but Δυσπιστος, in which we are warranted by some MSS., agrees better with what follows.



and unkind eye upon the strangers, Popedius continued; "And you, my little man, what do you say? Won't you give your guests your interest with your uncle, as well as your brother?" Cato still refusing to answer, and appearing both by his silence and by his looks inclined to deny the request, Popedius took him to the window and threatened, if he would not promise, to throw him out. This he did in a harsh tone, and at the same time gave him several shakes, as if he was about to let him fall. But as the child bore this a long time without any marks of concern or apprehension, Popedius set him down, and whispered to his friends, "This child is the glory of Italy. I verily believe, if he were a man, that we should not get a single vote among the people."

At another time, when a relation invited young Cato with other children to celebrate his birth-day, the greatest part of them went to play together in a corner of the house. Their play was to mimic a court of justice<sup>4</sup>, where some were accused in form, and afterward carried to prison. One of them, a beautiful boy, being condemned and shut up by a bigger boy in a closet, called out to Cato; who, as soon as he understood what the matter was, ran to the door, and pushing away those who stood there as guards and attempted to oppose him, carried off the child and went home in anger, most of the children marching off with him.

These things gained him great reputation, of

<sup>4</sup> Cato must at this time have been under four years of age. He was born B. C. 94. and Drusus, at whose house this affair took place, died B. C. 91. (See Suppl. Liv. lxxi. 34.)\*

<sup>5</sup> Children's plays are often taken from what is most familiar to them. In other countries, they are commonly formed upon trifling subjects; but the Roman children acted trials in the courts of justice, the command of armies, triumphal processions, and in later times the state of emperors. Suetonius informs us, that Nero commanded his young step-son Rufinus Crispinus (the son of Poppæa) to be thrown into the sea, because he was said to delight in plays of the last-mentioned kind. (Ner. xxxv.)

which the following is an extraordinary instance: When Sylla wished to exhibit a tournament of boys, which goes by the name of *Troy*<sup>6</sup> and is considered as a sacred exhibition, he selected two bands of young gentlemen, and assigned them two captains: one of these they easily accepted, on account of his being the son of Sylla's wife, Metella; but the other named Sextus, though he was nephew to Pompey the Great, they absolutely rejected, and would not go out to exercise under him: Sylla then asking them, "Whom they would have?" they unanimously cried out, "Cato;" and Sextus himself readily yielded the honour to him, as a boy of superior parts.

The friendship, which had subsisted between Sylla and the father of Cato, induced him sometimes to send for the young man and his brother Cæpio, and to converse familiarly with them; a favour, which on account of his dignity he conferred upon very few. Sarpedon thinking such an intercourse a great advantage to his scholar, both in point of honour and safety, often took Cato to pay his respects to the dictator. Sylla's house at that time looked like nothing but a place of execution, such were the numbers of people there tortured and put to death. Cato who was now in his fourteenth year, seeing the heads of many illustrious personages carried out, and observing that the by-standers sighed in secret at these scenes of blood, inquired of his preceptor, "Why somebody did not kill that man?" "Be-  
"cause," he replied, "they fear him more than they hate him." "Why then," said Cato "don't you  
"give me a sword, that I may kill him, and deliver  
"my country from slavery?" When Sarpedon heard such a speech from the boy, and saw with what a stern and angry look he uttered it, he was

<sup>6</sup> The invention of this game is generally ascribed to Ascanius. It was celebrated in the public circus by companies of boys, who were furnished with arms suitable to their strength. They were chosen, for the most part, out of the noblest families in Rome. See an excellent description of it, Virg. *Æn.* V. 545—603.

greatly alarmed, and watched him narrowly afterward, to prevent his attempting some rash action.

When he was yet but a child, he was asked one day, "Whom he loved most?" He answered, "His brother." The inquirer then asked him, "Whom he loved next?" and again he said, "His brother:" "Whom in the third place?" and his reply was still, "His brother:" and so on, till he discontinued his questions. This affection increased with his years; so that when he was twenty years old, if he supped, if he went out into the country, if he appeared in the Forum, Cæpio must be with him. But he would not make use of perfumes, as Cæpio did: the whole course of his life, indeed, was strict and austere; So that, when Cæpio was sometimes commended for his temperance and sobriety, he would say, "I may have some claim to these virtues, as compared with other men; but, when I compare myself with Cato, I seem a mere Sippius." This was the name of a person, notoriously effeminate and luxurious.

After Cato had been appointed to the priesthood of Apollo, he changed his dwelling, and took his share of the paternal estate, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents. But, though his fortune was so considerable, his manner of living was more frugal and simple than ever. He formed a particular connexion with Antipater of Tyre, the Stoic philosopher; and the knowledge, which he was the most studious of acquiring, was the moral and the political. He was carried to every virtue by an impulse like that of inspiration; but his principal attachment was to justice, and justice of that severe and inflexible kind, which is not to be moved by favour or compassion<sup>7</sup>. He cultivated, also, the eloquence

<sup>7</sup> Cæcero, in his Oration for Muræna, gives us a fine satire upon those maxims of the stoics, which Cato made the rule of his life, and which (as he observes) were only fit to flourish within the Portico. (L.) That sect indeed, by the rigour of their maxims, exemplified the *summum jus summa injuria*.

suited to popular assemblies ; for, as in a great city there should be an extraordinary supply for war, so in the political philosophy he thought there should be a provision for troublesome times. Yet he did not declaim before company, nor go to hear the exercises of other young men. And when one of his friends said, " Cato, the world finds fault with your silence ;" he answered, " No matter, so long as as it does not find fault with my life. I shall begin to speak, when I can avoid speaking things, which don't deserve to be heard."

In the public hall called the Porcian, which had been built by old Cato during his censorship, the tribunes of the people used to hold their court. And as there was a pillar which incommoded their benches, they resolved either to remove it to a distance, or to take it entirely away. This was the first thing, that drew Cato to the Rostra, and even then it was against his inclination. He opposed the design, however, most effectually, and gave an admirable specimen both of his eloquence and his spirit. For there was nothing of youthful sallies, or finical affectation in his oratory ; all was rough, and sensible, and energetic. Nevertheless, amidst the short and solid turn of the sentences, there was a grace that engaged the ear ; and with the gravity to be expected from his manners, was intermixed something of humour and raillery, which had a most agreeable effect. His voice was loud enough to be heard by such a multitude of people, and his strength of utterance was so powerful and inexhaustible, that he often spoke a whole day without being tired.

After he had gained his cause, he returned to his former studies and silence. To strengthen his constitution, he used the most laborious exercise. He accustomed himself to go bare-headed both in the hottest and the coldest weather, and travelled on foot at all seasons of the year. His friends who travelled with him made use of horses, and he joined sometimes one and sometimes another for conversa-

tion, as he went along. In times of sickness, his patience and abstinence were extraordinary. If he happened to have a fever, he spent the whole day alone, suffering no person to approach him till he found a sensible change for the better.

At entertainments they threw the dice for the choice of the messes; and if Cato lost the first choice, his friends generally offered it to him, but he always refused it; "Venus," said he, "forbids." At first, he used to rise from the table after having drank once; but in process of time he came to love drinking, and would sometimes spend the whole night over his wine. This his friends excused by saying, "That the business of the state employed him throughout the day, and left him no time for conversation, and therefore he passed his evenings in discourse with the philosophers." And, when one Memmius said in company "That Cato spent whole nights in drinking;" Cicero retorted, "But you cannot say, that he spends whole days in gaming."

Cato perceived that a great reformation was wanting in the manners and customs of his country, and for that reason he determined to oppose the corrupt fashions, which then prevailed. He observed, for instance, that the richest and brightest purple was the most worn, and therefore he went in black. Nay, he often appeared in public after dinner, bare-footed and without his gown. Not, that he affected to be talked of for that singularity; but he did it by way of learning to be ashamed of nothing but what was really shameful, and not to regard what depended only on the estimation of the world<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> The most favourable cast upon the dice was called 'Venus.' (L.) To this Horace alludes, Od. I. vi. 18., III. vii. 25.; upon which latter passage Cruquius informs us, *in talario ludo, qui talis quaternis constabat, 'Venus' erat, quando singuli tali diverso vultu apparebant: contra in tesserario ludo tribus tesseris ludebant, et numerus ter senarius summus erat, jactus vel 'Venus.'* See a former note.\*

<sup>9</sup> This principle, however, he carried too far; and there are few things which youth should be more carefully taught to distinguish,

A large estate falling to him by the death of a cousin-german of the same name, he converted it into money, to the amount of a hundred talents; and, when any of his friends wished to borrow a sum, he lent it to them without interest. If he could not otherwise supply them, he suffered even his own land and slaves to be mortgaged for them to the treasury.

He never knew any woman before his marriage; and when he thought himself of a proper age for that state, he entered into a treaty with Lepida, who had before been contracted to Metellus Scipio, but upon Scipio's having broken his engagement was then at liberty. Before the marriage however could take place, Scipio repented, and by his unremitting assiduities recovered the lady's favour. Provoked at this ill-treatment, Cato wished to apply to the laws for redress; and as his friends over-ruled him in that respect, youthful resentment impelled him to write some iambics against Scipio, which had all the keenness of Archilochus<sup>10</sup>, without his indelicate scurrility.

After this, he married Atilia the daughter of Soranus, who was the first, but not the only woman he ever knew. In this respect Lælius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, was happier than he<sup>11</sup>; for in the course of a long life he had only one wife, and no intercourse with any other woman.

In the Servile War<sup>12</sup>, I mean that with Spartacus, Gellius was general; and Cato served in it as a volunteer, for the sake of his brother Cæpio, who was at that time a tribune: but he could not distinguish

than what is essentially vicious, and what may be innocently followed, in the usages of the world.\*

<sup>10</sup> This sarcastic writer by his verses drove Lycambes, of whose daughter he had been disappointed in marriage, to hang himself. See Hor. Ep. I. xix. 25., A. P. 79. He was nearly contemporary with Romulus.\*

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch seems to us to have spoken thus feelingly, from his own experience, of the happiness of the conjugal connexion long continued with an affectionate wife.

<sup>12</sup> B. C. 73—71. See the Life of Crassus, III. 457. not. (13.)

his vivacity and courage as he wished, because the war was ill conducted. Amidst the effeminacy and luxury however which then prevailed in the army, he paid so much regard to discipline, and when occasion served behaved with so much spirit and valour, as well as coolness and capacity, that he appeared in no degree inferior to Cato the Censor. Gellius made him an offer of distinguished military rewards and honours, but he would not accept or allow of them: "I have done nothing," said he, "that deserves such notice."

These things made him pass for a man of a strange and singular turn. Besides, when a law was enacted, that no man who solicited any office should take nomenclators<sup>13</sup> along with him, he was the only one that obeyed it; for, when he applied for a tribune's commission in the army, he had previously made himself master of the names of all the citizens. Yet for this he was envied, even by those by whom he was praised upon the occasion. The more they considered the excellence of his conduct, the more pain it gave them to think how hard it was to imitate.

With a tribune's commission he was sent into Macedon, where Rubrius the prætor had the command. His wife, upon his departure, was in great distress; and we are told that Munatius one of his friends, in order to comfort her, said, "Cheerly, Atilia; I will take care of your husband." "By all means," answered Cato. At the end of the first day's march, after they had supped, he observed; "Come, Munatius, that you may the better perform your promise to Atilia, you shall not leave me either day or night." In consequence of which, he ordered two beds in his own tent, and made a pleasant improvement upon the matter; for as Munatius con-

<sup>13</sup> — *Servum qui dictet nomina, levum*

*Qui fodiat latus, et cogat trans poudera dextram*

*Porrigere.*

(Hor. Ep. I. vi. 50.)

Yet Cicero (pro Muræ. xxxvi.) charges Cato with having his nomenclator! *Quid, quæd habes nomenclatorem!*

stantly slept by him, it was not he that took care of Cato, but Cato who took care of him.

Cato carried along with him fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four of his friends. These rode on horseback, and he always went on foot ; yet he kept up with them, and conversed with them all by turns. When he joined the army, which consisted of several legions, Rubrius gave him the command of one. In this post, he thought it nothing great or extraordinary to be distinguished singly by his own virtue ; it was his ambition to render all the troops, that were under his care, like himself. With this view, though he lessened nothing of the authority which might inspire fear, he called in the support of reason to it's assistance. By instruction and persuasion, as well as by rewards and punishments, he formed them so well, that it was hard to say whether his troops were more peaceable or more warlike, more valiant or more just. They were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their allies ; afraid to do a dishonourable thing, and not afraid to do any thing in pursuit of honest praise.

Hence, though honour and fame were not his objects, they flowed in upon him : he was held in universal esteem, and had the entire possession of his soldiers' hearts. For, whatever he commanded others to do, he was the first to do himself. In his dress, his manner of living, and his marching, he resembled the private more than the officer ; and at the same time in virtue, in dignity of mind, and in strength of eloquence he far exceeded all that had the name of generals. By these means, he insensibly gained the affections of his troops. And indeed virtue does not attract imitation, except the person who gives the pattern be beloved, as well as esteemed. Those, who praise good men without loving them, only pay a respect to their name, without either sincerely admiring their virtue, or having any inclination to follow their example.

At that time lived at Pergamus a Stoic philosopher, named Athenodorus and surnamed Cordylio, in high



reputation for his knowledge. He was now grown old, and had long resisted the applications of princes and other great men, who wished to draw him to their courts by offers of their friendship and very considerable appointments. Cato thence concluded, that it would be in vain to write or send any messenger to him; and as the laws gave him leave of absence for two months, he sailed to Asia and applied to him in person, in confidence that his accomplishments would carry his point. Neither was he disappointed. By his arguments and the charms of his conversation he drew him from his purpose, and brought him back with him to the camp; as happy and as proud of his success, as if he had made a more valuable capture, or performed a more glorious exploit than those of Pompey and Lucullus, who were then subduing the provinces and kingdoms of the east.

While he was with the army in Macédon, he received information by letter, that his brother Cæpio had fallen sick at Ænus<sup>14</sup> in Thrace. The sea was extremely rough, and no large vessel could be procured. He ventured however to sail from Thessalonica in a small passage-boat, with two friends and three servants, and having very narrowly escaped drowning, arrived at Ænus just after Cæpio had expired. Upon this occasion, Cato showed the sensibility of a brother, rather than the fortitude of a philosopher. He wept, he groaned, he embraced the dead body; and, beside these and other tokens of the deepest sorrow, he expended vast sums upon his funeral. The spices and rich robes that were burnt with him were very costly, and he erected a monument for him of Thasian marble in the Forum

<sup>14</sup> Ænus, *hod.* Enos, was situated near the eastern mouth of the Hebrus; Thessalonica, mentioned below, was a Macedonian city, anciently called Therma (*hod.* Saloniki) on the Thermoic gulf; and Thasis, *hod.* Thapso or Tasso, an island celebrated for its quarries of variegated marble, opposite to the mouth of the Nessus off the southern coast of Thrace. (See Plin. H. N. xxvi. 6.) \*

at Ænus, which amounted to not less than eight talents.

Some condemned these things as little congruous to the modesty and simplicity, which Cato had in general professed; but they did not perceive, that with all his firmness and inflexibility to the solicitations of pleasure, of terror, and of importunity, he had great tenderness and sensibility in his nature. Many cities and princes sent presents of considerable value, in order to do honour to his obsequies, but he would not accept any thing in money. All that he would receive were spices and stuffs, and those too only on condition of paying their full price.

He was left co-heir with Cæpio's daughter to his estate; but when they came to divide it, he would not charge any part of the funeral-expenses to her account. Yet though he acted so honourably in that affair, and continued in the same upright path, there was one<sup>15</sup> who scrupled not to assert, that he passed his brother's ashes through a sieve, in search of the gold that might have been melted down. Surely that writer thought himself above being called to any account for his pen, as well as for his sword!

Upon the expiration of his commission, Cato was honoured at his departure, not only with the common good wishes for his health and praises of his conduct, but with tears and the most affectionate embraces; the soldiers spread their garments in his way, and kissed his hands: instances of esteem, which few generals met with from the Romans in those times!

But before he returned to Rome, to solicit a share in the administration, he resolved to visit Asia, and observe with his own eyes the manners, customs, and strength of every province. At the same time he was desirous to oblige Deiotarus king of Galatia, who on account of the engagements of hospitality that had subsisted between himself and Cato's father, had given him a most pressing invitation.

<sup>15</sup> Julius Cæsar in his 'Anti-Cato.'

His manner of travelling was as follows: Early each morning he sent his baker and his cook to the place where he intended to lodge the ensuing night. These entered the town in a very modest and civil manner; and if they found there no friend or acquaintance of Cato or his family, they engaged lodgings for him, and prepared his supper at an inn, without giving any one the least trouble. If there happened to be no inn, they applied to the magistrates for quarters, and were always satisfied with those assigned to them. Very often they were not believed to be Cato's servants, but entirely disregarded<sup>16</sup>, because they did not assail the magistrates with clamours and menaces; so that their master frequently arrived, before they could procure lodgings. It was still worse, when Cato himself made his appearance; for the townsmen, seeing him seat himself on the luggage without speaking a word, took him for a man of a mean and dastardly spirit. Sometimes however he would send to the magistrates, and say, "Wretches, why do not you learn a proper hospitality? You will not find all that apply to you, Catos. Do not then by your ill-treatment furnish occasions of exerting their authority, to those who only seek a pretence to take from you by violence, what you give with so much reluctance."

In Syria, we are told, he met with a ludicrous adventure. When he came to Antioch, he saw a number of people ranged in good order without the gates. On one side of the way stood the young men in their mantles, and on the other the boys in their best attire. Some wore white robes, and had crowns upon their heads: these were the priests, and the magistrates. Cato, imagining that this magnificent reception was intended to do him honour, began to be angry with his servants, who had been sent forward, for not having prevented such a compliment. Ne-

<sup>16</sup> *Apparet scire hunc esse domini pauperis miserie.* Ter. Eun. iii. 2.

vertheless, he desired his friends to alight, and walked with them toward these Antiochians. When they were near enough to be spoken to, the master of the ceremonies, an elderly man with a staff and a crown in his hand, addressed himself first to Cato; and without so much as saluting him inquired, "How far Demetrius was behind, and when he might be expected." Demetrius was Pompey's freedman; and, as the eyes of all the world were then fixed upon Pompey, they paid more respect to this favourite of his, than he had any right to claim. Cato's friends were seized with such a fit of laughter, that they could not recover themselves, as they passed through the crowd. Cato himself in some confusion cried out, "Alas poor city!" and said not another word\*. Afterward however he used always to laugh, whenever he told the story.

But Pompey took care to prevent the people of Asia from making any more mistakes of this kind, for want of knowing Cato. For Cato on his arrival at Ephesus going to pay his respects to Pompey, as his superior in age and dignity, and as the commander of such large armies; Pompey, when he saw him at some distance, did not wait to receive him sitting, but rose up to meet him; and gave him his hand with the utmost cordiality. He said much likewise in commendation of his virtue, while he was present, and spoke still more freely in his praise upon his departure. Every one after this paid the highest attention to Cato, and he was admired for what had previously exposed him to contempt; for they could now see, that his sedate and subdued conduct was the effect of his greatness of mind. Besides, it was visible that Pompey's behaviour to him was the consequence rather of respect, than of love; and that, though he expressed his admiration of him while present, he was glad when he was gone. For the other young Romans, that came to see him; he pressed

\* See the Life of Pompey, Vol. IV. p. 175.

much to stay, and spend some time with him. To Cato alone he gave no such invitation; but, as if he felt himself during his stay under some restraint in his proceedings, readily dismissed him. Of all the Romans however that returned to Rome, to Cato alone he recommended his wife and children, who indeed were his relations.

His fame now flying before him, the cities in his way anxiously strove which should do him most honour by invitations, entertainments, and every other mark of regard. Upon these occasions, Cato used to desire his friends to look well after him, lest he should verify Curio's saying. Curio, who was one of his particular friends and companions, but disapproved his austerity, asked him one day; "Whether he meant to visit Asia, when his time of service was expired?" Cato replied, "Yes, certainly." Upon which Curio said, "I am glad of that; you will return a little more practicable:" using an expressive Latin word to that purpose<sup>17</sup>.

Deiotarus king of Galatia, being far advanced in years, had sent for Cato, with a design to recommend his children and all his family to his protection. As soon as he came, he offered him a variety of valuable presents, and urged him strongly to accept them; which importunity so much displeased him, that though he came in the evening, he stayed only that night, and went away at the third hour the next morning. After he had proceeded a day's journey, he found at Pessinus a still greater number of presents, with letters entreating him to receive them; "or if you refuse for yourself," said Deiotarus, "at least allow them to be taken by your friends, who deserve some reward for their services, and yet cannot expect it out of your own estate." Cato however would give them no such permission, though

<sup>17</sup> Supposed to have been *mansuetior*. As Cato understood it in a disadvantageous sense, we have rendered it by the word 'practicable,' which conveys the same idea.

he observed that some of them cast a longing eye that way, and were visibly chagrined. "Corruption," said he, "will never want a pretence: but you shall be sure to share with me, whatever I can get with justice and honour." He, therefore, returned Deiotarus his presents.

When he was about to embark for Brundisium, his friends advised him to put Cæpio's remains on board another vessel<sup>18</sup>; but he declared, "that sooner than part with them he would part with his life," and so set sail. This particular ship however, it is said, happened to be in great danger, though all the rest had a tolerable passage.

After his return to Rome, he spent his time either in conversation with Athenodorus at home, or in the Forum in the service of his friends. Though he was of a proper age<sup>19</sup> to offer himself for the quæstorship, he would not solicit it, till he had qualified himself for that office by studying all the laws relative to it, making inquiries of such as were experienced in it; and thus gaining a thorough knowledge of it's whole intention and process. Immediately upon his entering on it, he introduced a considerable reformation among the secretaries and other officers of the treasury. The public papers, and the rules of court, were what they were well versed in; and as young quæstors were continually coming into the direction, who were ignorant of the laws and records, the under-officers took upon them not only to instruct, but to dictate to them, and were in fact quæstors themselves. This abuse Cato corrected. He applied himself indeed with great vigour to the business, and had not only the name and honour, but thoroughly understood every thing belonging to that depart-

<sup>18</sup> From a prevalent superstition, that a dead body on board a ship would raise a storm. Plutarch, by using the word 'happened' just below, shows that he did not concur in this consecrated absurdity.

<sup>19</sup> The legal age of becoming quæstor was thirty-one, ædile thirty-six, prætor thirty-eight, and consul forty-two. But Cato had not yet attained the lowest of these dates.\*

ment. Hence he made use of the secretaries only as servants, in their true capacity ; correcting sometimes wilful abuses, and sometimes mistakes originating in ignorance. As the licence in which they had hitherto lived had rendered them refractory, and they hoped to secure themselves by flattering the other quæstors, they boldly withstood Cato. He therefore dismissed the principal of them, whom he had detected in a fraud in the division of an estate. Against another, he lodged an indictment for forgery. His defence was undertaken by Lutatius Catulus, then censor, a man whose authority was supported not only by his high office, but still more by his reputation ; for in justice and regularity of life, he had distinguished himself above all the Romans of his time. He was also a friend and a favourer of Cato, on account of his upright conduct, yet in this cause he opposed him. Perceiving himself in the wrong, he had recourse to entreaties : but Cato would not suffer him to proceed, and on his persisting took occasion to say, " It would be a great disgrace to you, " Catulus, the censor and inspector of our lives and " manners, to be turned out of court by my lictors." Catulus gave him a look, as if he intended to have replied : he did not speak however, but either through anger or shame went off silent and much disconcerted. Nevertheless, the man was not condemned. As the number of voices against him exceeded those for him only by one, Catulus craved the assistance of Marcus Lollius, Cato's colleague ; who though he had been prevented by sickness from attending the trial, upon this application was brought in a litter into court, and gave the casting voice in favour of the defendant. Yet Cato would not restore him to his employment, or pay him his stipend ; for he considered the partial suffrage of Lollius as a thing of no account.

The secretaries thus humbled and subdued, he took the direction of the public papers and finances into his own hand. By these means, he quickly

rendered the treasury more respectable than the senate itself; and it was commonly thought, as well as said, that Cato had given the quæstorship all the dignity of the consulate. For having made it his business to find out all the debts of long standing due from private persons to the public, and what the public was indebted to private persons in return, he settled these affairs in such a manner, that the commonwealth could no longer either do or suffer any injury in that respect; strictly demanding and insisting on the payment of whatever was owing to the state, and at the same time readily and freely satisfying all who had claims upon it. This naturally gained him reverence among the people, when they saw many obliged to pay who had hoped never to have been called to account, and many receiving debts which they had renounced as desperate. His predecessors had often, through interest or persuasion, accepted false bills and pretended orders of senate; but nothing of that kind escaped Cato. There was one order in particular, which he suspected to be forged; and though it had many witnesses to support it, he would not allow it, till the consuls came and declared it upon oath.

There had been a number of assassins employed in the last proscription, to whom Sylla<sup>20</sup> had given twelve thousand drachmas for each head they brought him. These were considered by all the world as most execrable villains; yet no man had ventured to bring them to justice. Cato, however, summoned all who had received the public money for such unjust services, and made them refund; inveighing at the same time, with equal reason and severity, against their impious and abominable deeds. Those wretches, thus disgraced and as it were prejudged, were afterward indicted for murder before the judges, who punished them as they deserved. All ranks of people rejoiced at these executions;

<sup>20</sup> See his *Life*, III. 277.



they thought they saw the tyranny rooted out with it's instruments, and Sylla himself capitally punished in the death of his ministers.

The people were also delighted with his indefatigable diligence ; for he always came to the treasury before his colleagues, and was the last that left it. There was no assembly of the people, or meeting of the senate, which he did not attend, in order to keep a watchful eye upon all partial remissions of fines and duties, and all unreasonable grants. Thus having cleared the exchequer of informers and all such vermin, and filled it with treasure, he showed that it was possible for the government to be rich without oppressing the subject. At first, this conduct of his was very obnoxious and odious to his colleagues, but in time it became highly agreeable : because by refusing to give away any of the public money, or to make any partial determination, he incurred the rage of disappointed avarice for them all ; and to the importunity of solicitation they were enabled to reply, that they could do nothing without the consent of Cato.

The last day of his office, he was conducted home by almost the whole body of citizens. But he was informed on the way that some of the principal men in Rome, who had great influence with Marcellus, were besieging him in the treasury, and pressing him to make out an order for sums which they pretended to be due to them. Marcellus from his childhood had been the friend of Cato, and a good quæstor while he acted with him ; but when he acted alone, he was too much influenced by personal regards for petitioners, and by a natural inclination to oblige. Cato, therefore, immediately turned back ; and finding that Marcellus had already suffered himself to be prevailed upon to make out the order, he called for the registers and erased it, Marcellus all the while standing by in silence. Not content with this, he led him out of the treasury, and took him to his own house. Marcellus however did not complain, either

then or afterward, but continued the same friendship and intimacy with him to the last.

After the time of his quæstorship was expired, Cato still turned a vigilant eye toward the treasury. He had his servants there, daily minuting down the proceedings; and he spent much time himself in perusing the public accounts from the time of Sylla to his own, a copy of which he had purchased for five talents.

Whenever the senate was summoned to meet, he was the first to attend, and the last to withdraw; and frequently, while the rest were slowly assembling, he would sit down and read, holding his gown before his book; neither would he ever be out of town, when there was a general summons of attendance. Pompey, discovering that in all his unwarrantable attempts he must find a severe and inexorable opponent in Cato, whenever he had a point of that kind to carry, threw in his way either the cause of some friend to plead, or some arbitration or other business to call off his attention. But Cato soon perceived the snare, and rejected all the applications of his friends; declaring that, when the senate was to sit, he would never undertake any other concern. For his attention to the affairs of government was not, like that of some others, guided by the views of honour or profit, or left to mere chance or humour; but he thought a good citizen ought to be as solicitous about the public, as a bee is about her hive. For this reason he desired his friends, and others with whom he had connexions in the provinces, to give him an account of the edicts, important decisions, and all other principal business there transacted.

He made a point of opposing Clodius, the seditious demagogue, who was always bringing forward some dangerous law or change in the constitution, or accusing the priests and vestals to the people. Among the rest Fabia Terentia, the sister of Cicero's wife and one of the vestals, was impeached, and in danger of being condemned. But Cato defended the cause

of these injured people so well, that Clodius was forced to withdraw in extreme confusion, and leave the city. When Cicero came to return him thanks, he said, "You must thank your country, whose service is the spring that guides all my actions."

His reputation became at last so great, that a certain orator in a cause where only one witness was produced, said to the judges, "The evidence of a single man is insufficient, even if that man were Cato." It grew indeed into a kind of proverb, when people were speaking of strange and incredible things, to say, "I would not believe it, on the authority even of Cato himself."

A man profuse in his expenses, and in all respects of a worthless character, taking upon him one day to speak in the senate in praise of temperance and sobriety, Amnæus rose up and said, "Who can endure to hear a man that eats and drinks like Crassus, and builds like Lucullus, pretending to talk like Cato?" Hence others who were dissolute and abandoned in their lives, but preserved a gravity and austerity in their discourse, came by way of ridicule to be called 'Catos.'

His friends advised him to offer himself for the tribuneship; but he thought it was not yet time. "An office of such power and authority," he said, "he considered as a violent medicine, which ought only to be used in cases of necessity." As at that time he had no public business to engage him, he took his books and philosophers along with him, and set out for Lucania, where he had an estate and an agreeable country-retreat. By the way he met with a number of horses, carriages, and servants belonging (as he found) to Metellus Nepos, who was going to Rome to apply for the tribuneship. This put him to a stand: he remained for some time in deep thought,

"—*Caries simulans, et Bacchanalia vicinans.* (Juv. ii. 5.)

See the Life of Lucullus, III. 386., where this reproach is ascribed to Cato."

and then gave his people orders to turn back. To his friends, who were surprised at this conduct, he said; "Know ye not that Metellus is formidable, even in his stupidity? He now follows the counsels of Pompey; the state lies prostrate before him; and he will fall upon it, and crush it with the force of a thunderbolt. Is this, then, a time for the pursuit of rural amusements? Let us rescue our liberties, or die in their defence!" Upon the remonstrance of his friends, however, he proceeded to his farm; and, after a short stay there, returned to the city. He arrived in the evening, and early the next morning went to the Forum, to offer himself as a candidate for the tribuneship in opposition to Metellus: for to oppose is the nature of that office, and it's power is chiefly negative; insomuch, that the dissent of a single voice is sufficient to annul a measure, in which the whole assembly beside has concurred.

Cato was, at first, attended by only a small number of his friends; but as soon as his intentions became public, he was immediately surrounded by all the men of honour of his acquaintance, who gave him the strongest encouragement, and solicited him to apply for the tribuneship, not as it might imply a favour conferred upon himself, but as it would be an honour and an advantage to his fellow-citizens: observing at the same time that, though it had been frequently in his power to have obtained this office without the trouble of opposition, yet he now stepped forth, regardless not only of that trouble, but even of personal danger, when the liberties of his country were at stake. Such was the zeal and eagerness of the people pressing around him, that it was with the utmost difficulty he made his way to the Forum.

Being appointed tribune, with Metellus among the rest, he observed that great corruption had crept into the consular elections. Upon this subject, he concluded a severe charge to the people by affirming on oath that he would prosecute every one who

should offend in that way. He took care however that Silanus<sup>22</sup>, who had married his sister Servilia, should be excepted. But against Muræna, who by means of bribery had carried the consulship at the same time with Silanus, he laid an information. By the laws of Rome, the person impeached has the power to set a guard upon his accuser, that he may have no opportunity of supporting a false accusation by private arrangements before the trial. When the person, who had been appointed Muræna's officer upon this occasion, observed the liberal and candid conduct of Cato, and that he sought only to support his information by fair and open evidence, he was so struck with the excellence and dignity of his character, that he would frequently wait upon him in the Forum or at his house, and after inquiring whether or not he intended to proceed that day in the business of the information, if Cato answered in the negative, he made no scruple of leaving him. When the trial came on, Cicero, who was then consul and Muræna's advocate, by way of playing upon Cato, threw out many pleasant things against the Stoics and their paradoxical philosophy. This occasioned no small mirth among the judges; upon which Cato only observed with a smile, to those who stood next to him, that Rome had indeed a most laughter-raising consul<sup>23</sup>. Muræna acted a creditable and judicious part,

<sup>22</sup> From this passage it would appear, that Plutarch supposed Cato capable of sacrificing principle to family connexions. [It was not thus that Phocion felt, when he refused to screen Charicles, and said: 'I made you my son-in-law only for just and honourable purposes.' (See p. 26.\*)] But the fault lies rather in the historian, than in the tribune. For, is it to be supposed, that the rigid virtue of Cato should have descended to the most obnoxious circumstances of predilection? It is not possible to have a stronger instance of his integrity, than his having refused the alliance of Pompey the Great; though that refusal was impolitic, and attended with ill consequences to the state.

<sup>23</sup> The French and English translators have it, 'a pleasant consul.' But that does not convey the sarcasm that Cato meant. '*Ridiculus est, quod ritum facit.*' On 'the paradoxes of the Stoics,' see Cic. Parad. See in this vol. Demosthenes and Cicero compared.

with regard to Cato; for after he was acquitted of the charge which he had brought against him, he consulted him upon all occasions of importance during his consulship, respected him for his sense and virtue, and indeed showed him every mark of honour and confidence throughout the whole of his administration. Cato, on the bench and in council, was the most rigid dispenser of justice; but, in private society, he was affable and humane.

Even before he was appointed tribune in Cicero's consulship, he supported that magistrate in a most seasonable manner, by many excellent measures during the turbulent times of Catiline. This man, it is well known, meditated nothing less than a total subversion of the Roman state; but, by the spirited counsels and conduct of Cicero, he was obliged to fly from Rome without having effected his purpose. Lentulus and Cethegus however, with the rest of the conspirators, after having reproached Catiline for his timidity and the feebleness of his enterprises, resolved to distinguish themselves at least more effectually. Their scheme was to burn the city, and destroy the empire by the revolt of the colonies and by foreign wars. Upon the discovery of this conspiracy, Cicero (as we have observed in his Life) called a council; when the first speaker, Silanus, gave it as his opinion, that the conspirators should be punished with the utmost rigour. This opinion was adopted by the rest, till it came to Cæsar. That eloquent man, whose ambitious principles it suited rather to encourage than to suppress innovations and disturbances, urged, in his usual persuasive manner the propriety of allowing the accused the privilege of trial, and that they should only be taken into custody. This measure many of the senate, who were under apprehensions from the people, thought it prudent to adopt; and even Silanus retracted, and declared he meant nothing more than imprisonment, that being the most rigorous punishment which a Roman citizen could suffer.

This change of sentiments in those who spoke first was followed by the rest, who all strongly recommended milder measures. But Cato, who was of a contrary opinion, defended it with the greatest vehemence, eloquence, and energy. He reproached Silanus for his pusillanimity in having altered his resolution. He attacked Cæsar, and charged him with a secret design of subverting the government, under the plausible appearance of mitigatory speeches and humane conduct; and of intimidating likewise the senate, even in a case where he had to fear for his own person, and in which he might deem it an instance of great good fortune, if he himself could be exempted from the imputation and suspicion of guilt—He, who had openly and daringly attempted to rescue from justice the enemies of the state, and shown that, far from having any compassion for his country when on the brink of destruction, he could even pity and plead for the unnatural wretches who had meditated it's ruin, and grieve that their punishment should prevent their design. This, it is said, is the only oration of Cato's extant. Cicero had selected a number of the quickest writers, whom he had taught the art of abbreviating words by characters, and had placed them in different parts of the senate-house. Before his consulate, they had no short-hand writers<sup>20</sup>. Cato carried his point; and it was decreed, in conformity to his opinion, that the conspirators should suffer capital punishment.

As it is our intention to exhibit an accurate picture of the mind and manners of Cato, the least circumstance, that may contribute to mark them, ought not to escape our notice. While he was warmly contesting his point with Cæsar, and the eyes of the whole senate were upon the disputants, it is said that a bill<sup>et</sup> was brought in and delivered to Cæsar. Cato immediately suspected him, and charged him with

<sup>20</sup> Dacier supposes, that these 'short-hand writers' were first employed by Cicero, during his consulate, in the cause of Muræna: others refer the discovery of the art to his freedman Tiro.

some traitorous design; and it was moved in the senate, that the billet should be read aloud. Cæsar delivered it to Cato, who stood near him; and the latter had no sooner cast his eye upon it, than he perceived it to be in the hand-writing of his own sister Servilia, who was passionately in love with Cæsar, and had been debauched by him. He therefore threw it back to Cæsar, saying, "Take it, you sot," and went on with his discourse. Cato was always unfortunate among the women. This Servilia was infamous for her commerce with Cæsar, and his other sister Servilia was in still worse repute; for, though married to Lucullus, one of the first men in Rome, by whom she also had a son, she had been divorced for her insufferable irregularities. But what was most disgraceful to Cato was, that the conduct of his own wife Atilia was by no means unexceptionable; and that, after having brought him two children, he was obliged to part with her.

Upon his divorce from Atilia, he married Marcia the daughter of Philip, a woman of good character; but this part of Cato's life, like the plot in the drama, is involved and intricate. Thræseas<sup>24</sup>, upon the authority of Munatius (Cato's particular friend, who lived under the same roof with him), gives us the following account of the matter: Among the friends and acquaintance of Cato, some made a more open profession of their sentiments than others. Of this class Quintus Hortensius, a man of great dignity and politeness, was one. Not contented merely with the friendship of Cato, he was desirous of a family-alliance with him; and for this purpose scrupled not to request that his daughter Portia, who was already married to Bibulus, and had two children by him, might be lent him, as a fruitful soil for the purpose of propagation. The thing itself, he owned, was uncommon, but by no means unnatural or impro-

<sup>24</sup> The celebrated Thræseas Pætus, upon whom Tacitus pronounces such a noble panegyric, Ann. xvi. 21., wrote the Life of Cato; see *Voss. de Hist. Lat.* i. 26. He was put to death by Nero.\*



per. For why should a woman in the flower of her age either continue useless, till she is past child-bearing, or overburthen her husband with too large a family? The mutual use of women (he added) in virtuous families would not only increase a virtuous offspring, but strengthen and extend the intercourse of society. Besides, if Bibulus should be unwilling wholly to give up his wife, she should be restored, after she had done him the honour of an alliance to Cato by her pregnancy. Cato answered, that he had the highest regard for Hortensius' friendship, but he could not think of his application for another man's wife. Hortensius, however, would not suffer the matter to rest here; but when he found he could not obtain Cato's daughter, he applied for his wife, alleging that she was yet a young woman, and Cato's family already sufficiently large. This request he could not possibly have urged, upon a supposition that Cato had no regard for his wife; for she was at that very time pregnant. Notwithstanding, the latter, when he observed the violent inclination which Hortensius had to be allied to him, did not absolutely refuse him; but said, it was necessary to consult Marcia's father, Philip, upon the occasion. To Philip, therefore, application was made, and his daughter was espoused to Hortensius in the presence and with the consent of Cato<sup>25</sup>. These circumstances are not related in the proper order of time; but, speaking of Cato's connexion with the women, I was led to mention them.

When the conspirators were executed, and Cæsar (who, on account of the charges brought against him in the senate, was obliged to throw himself upon the people) had infused a spirit of insurrection into the worst and lowest of the citizens, Cato, apprehensive of the consequences, engaged the senate to appease the multitude by a free-gift of corn. This

<sup>25</sup> This transaction is so well attested by other (some of them contemporary) authors, that we can only admit and lament it, as an undoubted and most infamous fact. See Ruault, *Observ. Crit.* 25.\*

cost twelve hundred and fifty talents a year; but it had the desired effect <sup>26</sup>.

Metellus, upon entering on his office as tribune, held several seditious meetings, and published an edict that Pompey should bring his troops into Italy, under the pretext of saving the city from the attempts of Catiline. Such was the pretence; but his real design was, to surrender the state into that general's hands.

Upon the meeting of the senate, Cato, instead of treating Metellus with his usual asperity, mildly expostulated with him, and even had recourse to entreaty; intimating, at the same time, that his family had ever supported the interests of the nobility. Metellus, who imputed Cato's mildness to his fears, was the more insolent upon that account, and most audaciously asserted that he would carry his purpose into execution, whether the senate would or not. The voice, the air, the attitude of Cato were changed in a moment; and with all the force of eloquence he declared, "That while he was living, Pompey should never enter armed into the city." The senate neither approved of the conduct of Cato, nor of that of Metellus. The latter they considered as a desperate and profligate madman, who had no other aim than the general destruction and confusion of the state. The virtue of Cato they regarded as a kind of enthusiasm, which would ever lead him to the adoption of violent measures in the cause of justice and the laws.

When the people came to vote for the edict, a number of aliens, gladiators, and slaves armed by Metellus appeared in the Forum. He was followed also by several of the commons, who were solicitous

<sup>26</sup> This is almost one-third more than the sum, said to have been expended in the same distribution in the Life of Cæsar, IV. 366., and even there it is incredibly large. But whatever might be the expense, the policy was bad; for nothing more effectually weakens the hands of government, than this method of bribing the populace, and treating them as injudicious nurses do froward children.

to introduce Pompey in the hope of a revolution: and his cause was strengthened by the prætorial power of Cæsar. Cato, on the other hand, had the principal citizens on his side; but they were rather sharers in the injury, than auxiliaries in its removal. The danger to which he was exposed appeared now so imminent, that his family was under the utmost concern. The greatest part of his friends and relations came to his house in the evening, and passed the night without either eating or sleeping. His wife and sisters bewailed their misfortunes with tears, while he himself spent the evening with the utmost confidence and tranquillity, encouraging the rest to imitate his example. He supped, and went to rest as usual; and slept soundly, till awaked by his colleague Minutius Thermus. He then went to the Forum accompanied by few, but met by many, who advised him to take care of his person. When he saw the temple of Castor surrounded by armed men, the steps occupied by gladiators, and Metellus himself seated on an eminence with Cæsar, he turned round to his friends, and asked, "Which is the more contemptible; the savage disposition, or the cowardice, of him who brings such an army against one naked and unarmed?" Upon this, he proceeded to the place with Thermus. Those who occupied the steps fell back to make way for him, but would suffer no one else to pass. Munatius only with some difficulty he drew along with him; and as soon as he entered, he took his seat between Cæsar and Metellus, that so he might prevent their discourse. This embarrassed them not a little, and what added to their perplexity, was the countenance and approbation that Cato received from all the honest men then present; who, while they admired the firm and steady spirit so strongly marked in his aspect, encouraged him to persevere in the cause of liberty, and mutually agreed to exert themselves in his support.

Metellus, enraged at this, proposed to read the edict. Cato put in his negative; and, that having

no effect, he wrested it out of his hand. Metellus then attempted to repeat it from memory; but Thermus prevented him, by putting his hand upon his mouth. When he found that too ineffectual, and perceived that the people were gone over to the opposite party, he ordered his armed men to make a riot, and throw the whole into confusion. Upon this the people dispersed, and Cato was left alone, exposed to a storm of sticks and stones. But Muræna, though Cato had so lately laid an information against him, would not desert him. He defended him with his gown from the danger to which he was exposed, entreated the mob to desist from their violence, and at length carried him off in his arms into the temple of Castor. Metellus finding the benches deserted, and his adversaries put to the rout, imagined that he had gained his point, and again very modestly proceeded to confirm the edict. The opposition however quickly rallied, and advanced with shouts of the greatest courage and confidence. Metellus' faction, supposing that by some means they had procured arms, were thrown into confusion, and immediately took to flight. Upon the dispersion of these, Cato came forward, and by his encouragement and applause established a considerable party against Metellus. The senate likewise voted, that Cato should at all events be supported; and that an edict, so pregnant with every thing pernicious to order and good government, and which had even a tendency to civil war, should be opposed with the utmost vigour.

Metellus, however, still maintained his daring resolution; but finding his friends intimidated by the unconquered spirit of Cato, he came suddenly into the open court, assembled the people, said every thing which he thought might render Cato odious to them; and declared, that he would have nothing to do with the arbitrary principles of that man, or his conspiracy against Pompey, whose disgrace Rome might one day have severe occasion to repent.

Upon this, he immediately set off for Asia, to carry

an account of these matters to Pompey. And Cato, by ridding the commonwealth of this troublesome tribune, and crushing, as it were, in him the growing power of that general, obtained the highest reputation. But what rendered him still more popular, was his having prevailed upon the senate to desist from their purpose of voting Metellus 'infamous,' and divesting him of the magistracy. His humanity and moderation, in not insulting a vanquished enemy, were admired by the people in general; while men of political sagacity could see, that he thought it prudent not to provoke Pompey too deeply.

Soon afterward, Lucullus returned from the war, of which Pompey had the winding up and the glory, and being rendered obnoxious to the people by the impeachment of Caius Memmius, who opposed him more from a view of making his court to Pompey than from any personal hatred, incurred the risk of losing his triumph. Cato however, partly because Lucullus was allied to him by marrying his daughter Servilia, and partly because he thought the proceedings unfair, resisted Memmius, and thus exposed himself to extreme obloquy. But though divested of his tribunitial office, as of a tyrannical authority, he had still credit enough to banish Memmius from the courts and from the lists. Lucullus therefore, having obtained his triumph, attached himself to Cato, as to the strongest bulwark against the power of Pompey.

When Pompey returned from the war, confident of his interest at Rome from the magnificent reception which he had every where experienced, he scrupled not to send a requisition to the senate, that they would defer the election of consuls till his arrival, in order that he might support Piso. While they were hesitating about the matter, Cato, not from any excessive solicitude about deferring the election, but with a view of intercepting the hopes and attempts of Pompey, remonstrated against the measure and carried it in the negative. At this,

Pompey was not a little disturbed; and concluding that, if Cato were his enemy, he would prove the most formidable obstacle to his designs, he sent for his friend Munatius, and commissioned him to demand two of Cato's nieces in marriage; the elder for himself, and the younger for his son. Some say, they were not Cato's nieces, but his daughters. Be that as it may, when Munatius opened his commission to Cato in the presence of his wife and sisters, the women were not a little delighted with the splendour of the alliance. But Cato without a moment's hesitation replied, "Go, Munatius; go, and tell Pompey, that Cato is not to be caught in a female <sup>snare.</sup>" Tell him at the same time, that I am sensible of the intended honour, and while he continues to act as he ought to do, shall cherish that friendship for him which is superior to affinity: but I will never give hostages, against my country, to the glory of Pompey." The women, as it is natural to suppose, were chagrined: and even the friends of Cato blamed the severity of his answer. But Pompey soon afterward gave him an opportunity of vindicating his conduct, by his open and notorious bribery at a consular election, when money was publicly paid in his garden to such of the tribes, as gave their votes to his friend<sup>28</sup>. "You see now," said Cato to the women, "what would have been the consequence of my alliance with Pompey. I should have had my share in all the aspersions, which are thrown upon him." And they owned, that he had acted right in declining it. If it were proper, however, to judge from the event, it is clear that Cato acted wrong upon this occasion. By suffering the alliance in question to devolve to Cæsar, the united power of those two illustrious men nearly overturned the Roman empire. The commonwealth it effectually

<sup>27</sup> Literally, \* not to be circumvented through the apartment of the ladies.\*

<sup>28</sup> Lucius Afranius. See the Life of Pompey, Vol. IV. p. 180.

ally destroyed. But this would never have been the case, had not Cato, alarmed even at the slightest faults of Pompey, suffered him by thus strengthening his hands to commit greater crimes. These consequences, however, were at this time only impending.

When Lucullus had a dispute with Pompey, concerning their institutions in Pontus (for each was anxious to have his own sanctioned), as the former was evidently injured, he had the support of Cato; while Pompey his junior in the senate, in order to increase his popularity, proposed the Agrarian law in favour of the army. This was opposed by Cato, and rejected; in consequence of which Pompey attached himself to Clodius, the most violent and factious of the tribunes, and about the same time contracted his alliance with Cæsar, to which Cato in some measure led the way. The thing was as follows: Cæsar, upon his return from Spain, at once sued for the consulship, and demanded a triumph. But as the laws of Rome required, that those who are candidates for the supreme magistracy should make personal application, and those who are to enjoy a triumph should remain without the walls, he petitioned the senate that he might be allowed to sue for the consulship by proxy. The senate in general agreed to his request; and when Cato (the only one that opposed it) found this to be the case, as soon as it came to his turn, he continued his speech throughout the whole day, and thus prevented the completing of any business. Cæsar therefore gave up the affair of the triumph, entered the city, and applied at once for the consulship and the interest of Pompey. As soon as he was appointed consul, he married Julia; and as they had entered into a league against the commonwealth, one proposed, and the other seconded, laws for the distribution of lands among the poor. Lucullus and Cicero, in conjunction with Bibulus the other consul, opposed them. But Cato in particular, who suspected the pernicious consequences of Cæsar's connexion with Pompey,

was strenuous against the motion ; and observed, it was not the distribution of lands that he feared, so much as the rewards, which the cajolers of the people might expect from their favour.

In this, not only the senate agreed with him, but many of the people also, who were offended by Cæsar's unconstitutional conduct. For whatever the most violent and absurd of the tribunes proposed for the pleasure of the mob, Cæsar in mean and abject subservience to them ratified by the consular authority. When he found his motion therefore likely to be over-ruled, his party had recourse to violence, pelted Bibulus the consul with dirt, and broke the rods of his lictors. At length, when darts began to be thrown and many were wounded, the rest of the senate fled as fast as possible out of the Forum. Cato was the last, that left it ; and as he walked slowly along, he frequently looked back, and execrated the madness of the people. Not only the Agrarian law therefore was passed, but the whole senate was bound to take an oath that they would confirm and support it, and those that should refuse were sentenced to pay a heavy fine. Necessity brought most of them into the measure ; for they remembered the example of Metellus<sup>29</sup>, who had been banished from Italy for refusing to comply, in a similar instance, with the wishes of the people. Cato was solicited by the tears of the female part of his family, and the entreaties of his friends, to yield and take the oath. But what principally prevailed upon him was, the expostulations of the orator Cicero ; who represented to him that there might be less virtue, than he imagined, in one man's dissenting from a decree established by the rest of the senate ; that to expose himself to certain danger, without even the possibility of producing any good effect, was perfect insanity ; and (what was still worse) to abandon the commonwealth, for which he had undergone so many

<sup>29</sup> Metellus Numidicus. See the Life of Marius, III. 158.



toils, to the mercy of innovators and usurpers, would look as if he were quite weary of his patriotic labours. Cato, he added, might do without Rome, but Rome could not do without Cato; his friends could not do without him; he himself in particular could not do without his assistance and support, while the audacious Clodius by means of his tribunitial authority was forming the most dangerous machinations against him. By these and the like remonstrances, importuned at home and in the Forum, Cato (it is said) was with difficulty induced to take the oath; and his friend Favonius excepted, he was the last that took it.

Elated with this success, Cæsar proposed another act for distributing almost the whole province of Campania among the poor. Cato alone opposed it. And though Cæsar dragged him from the bench and conveyed him to prison, he omitted not nevertheless, as he passed, to exclaim in defence of liberty, to enlarge upon the consequences of the act, and to exhort the citizens to put a stop to such proceedings. The senate with heavy hearts, and all the virtuous part of the people, followed Cato in silent indignation. Cæsar was not inattentive to the public discontent, which this proceeding occasioned; but ambitiously expecting some concessions on the part of Cato, he proceeded to conduct him to prison. At length however, when he found his expectations vain, unable any longer to support the shame to which this conduct exposed him, he instructed one of the tribunes to rescue him from his officers. The people notwithstanding, brought over to Cæsar's interest by these public distributions, voted him the province of Illyricum and all Gaul, together with four legions, for the space of five years; though Cato foretold them, at the same time, that they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome. They moreover created Clodius, contrary to the laws (for he was of the patrician order) a tribune of the people, because they knew that he would fully accede to their wishes

with regard to the banishment of Cicero. Calpurnius, Piso the father of Cæsar's wife, and Aulus Gabinius<sup>30</sup> a minion of Pompey (as we are told by those who knew him best), they created consuls.

Yet though they had every thing in their hands, and had gained one part of the people by favour and the other by fear, they were still afraid of Cato. They remembered the pains, which it had cost them to overbear him, and that their violent measures had done them but little honour. Clodius, likewise, perceived that he could not distress Cicero, while supported by Cato: yet this was his chief object, and upon entering upon his tribunitial office he had an interview with Cato; when after paying him the compliment of pronouncing him 'the honestest man in Rome,' he proposed to him, as a testimony of his sincerity, the government of Cyprus, an appointment which (he said) had been solicited by many. Cato answered that, far from being a favour, it was a scheme of treachery and a disgrace; upon which Clodius fiercely and contemptuously replied, "If you are not pleased to go, you shall go displeased:" and, immediately applying to the senate, procured a decree for Cato's expedition. Yet he neither furnished him with a vessel, a soldier, or a servant; two secretaries excepted, one of whom was a notorious thief, and the other a client of his own. Besides, as if the charge of Cyprus and the opposition of Ptolemy were not a sufficient employment, he ordered him likewise to restore the Byzantine exiles. But his view in all this was to keep Cato, as long as possible, out of Rome.

Cato, thus obliged to depart, exhorted Cicero, who was at the same time closely hunted by Clodius, by no means to involve his country in a civil war, but to yield to the necessity of the times.

By means of his friend Canidius, whom he sent be-

<sup>30</sup> The character of Gabinius was despicable in every respect, as appears from Cicero's Oration for Sextius. (xii., xliii.)

fore him to Cyprus, he negotiated with Ptolemy in such a manner, that he yielded without coming to an engagement; for Cato gave him to understand, that he should live not in a poor or abject condition, but that he should be appointed high-priest to the Paphian Venus<sup>31</sup>. While this was negotiating, Cato stopped at Rhodes, at once waiting for Ptolemy's answer, and making preparations for the reduction of the island.

In the mean time Ptolemy<sup>32</sup> king of Egypt, who had left Alexandria upon some quarrel and difference with his subjects, was on his way to Rome, in order to solicit his re-establishment from Cæsar and Pompey by means of the Roman arms. Being informed that Cato was at Rhodes, he sent to him, in the hope that he would wait upon him. But Cato, who at that time happened to have taken physic, told his messenger that if Ptolemy wished to see him, he might come himself: and upon his arrival he neither went forward to meet him, nor did he so much as rise from his seat, but saluted him as he would have done a common person, and carelessly bade him sit down. Ptolemy was somewhat hurt by it at first, and surprised to meet with such a supercilious severity of manners in a man of Cato's mean dress and appearance. When he entered into conversation with him however concerning his affairs, and heard his free and nervous eloquence, he was easily soothed. Cato, it seems, censured his impolitic application to Rome; represented to him the happiness which he had left, and told him that he was about to expose

<sup>31</sup> This appointment seems but a poor exchange for a kingdom: but when it is remembered that, in the Pagan theology, the priests of the gods were not inferior in dignity to princes, and that most of them were of royal families; when it is considered in what high reputation the Paphian Venus stood among the ancients, and what a lucrative as well as honourable office that of her priest must have been, from the offerings of the innumerable votaries who came annually to pay their devotions at her temple, it will be allowed perhaps that Ptolemy made no bad bargain for his little island.

<sup>32</sup> Surnamed *Auletes*.

himself to the toils and plagues of attendance, the meanness of bribery, and the avarice of the Roman chiefs, which the whole kingdom of Egypt converted into money could not satiate. He advised him to return with his fleet, and be reconciled to his people, offering him at the same time his attendance and mediation; and Ptolemy, restored by his statements as it were from insanity to reason, admired his discretion and sincerity, and determined to follow his advice. His friends, nevertheless, brought him back to his former measures; but he was no sooner at the door of one of the magistrates of Rome, than he repented his folly, and blamed himself for having rejected the virtuous counsels of Cato, as for having disobeyed the oracle of a god.

Ptolemy of Cyprus, as Cato's good fortune would have it, took himself off by poison. As he was said to have left a full treasury, Cato having determined to go to Byzantium sent his nephew Brutus to Cyprus because he had not sufficient confidence in Canidius; and when the exiles were reconciled to the rest of the citizens, and all things quiet in Byzantium, he proceeded to Cyprus himself. Here he found the royal furniture very magnificent in vessels, tables, jewels, and purple, all which were to be converted into ready money. In the management of this affair he was scrupulously exact, attended at the sales, took the accounts himself, and brought every article to the best market. Neither would he trust to the common customs of sale-factors, auctioneers, bidders, or even his own friends; but he had private conferences with the purchasers, in which he urged them to bid more, so that every thing went off at the highest price. By these means he gave offence to many of his friends, and almost unpardonably affronted his particular intimate Munatius. Cæsar likewise, in his Oration against him, availed himself of this circumstance, and treated him very severely. Munatius himself however informs us, that this misunderstanding was occasioned not so much by Cato's

distrust, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealousy of Canidius: for Munatius wrote Memoirs of Cato, which Thraseas has principally followed. In these he states, that he was among the last who arrived at Cyprus, and thus found nothing but the refuse of the lodgings; that he went to Cato's apartments, and was refused admittance, because Cato was privately concerting something with Canidius; and that when he modestly complained of this conduct, he received a severe answer from Cato, who observed (with Theophrastus) that "Too much love was frequently the occasion of hatred; and thus he, because of the friendship with which he had been treated, was angry at the slightest inattention." He told him at the same time, that "He made use of Canidius as a necessary agent, and because he had more confidence in him than in the rest; having found him honest, though he had been there from the first, and had enjoyed many opportunities of being otherwise." This conversation, which he held in private with Cato, the latter (he informs us) related to Canidius; and this coming to Munatius' knowledge, he would neither attend Cato's entertainments, nor assist when summoned at his councils. Cato threatening to punish him for disobedience, and as is usual to take a pledge from him<sup>31</sup>, Munatius paid no regard to it, but sailed for Rome and long retained his resentment. Upon Cato's return, he and Munatius, by means of Marcia, who at that time lived with her husband, were both invited to sup with Barca. Cato, who came in after the rest of the company had taken their places, asked where he should take his? Barca answered, "Where he pleased." "Then," said he, "it shall be by Munatius." Upon which he sat down next him, but

<sup>31</sup> When a magistrate refused a summons to the senate or public council, the penalty was to take some piece of furniture out of his house, and to detain it till he attended. This they called, *pignora capere*, *πινυρα λαβεῖν*. (See Cic. Philipp. i. 5., De Orat. iii. 1.)

showed him no other marks of friendship during supper; afterward however, at Marcia's request, Cato wrote to say that he should be glad to see him. Accordingly Munatius waited on him at his own house, and being entertained by Marcia till the rest of the morning-visitors were gone, Cato came in and embraced him with the utmost kindness. We have dwelt upon these little circumstances the longer, as in our opinion they contribute not less than more public and important actions, to the clear delineation and exhibition of character.

In this expedition Cato had acquired nearly seven thousand talents of silver, and being under some apprehensions on account of the length of his voyage, he provided a number of vessels capable of holding two talents and five hundred drachmas a-piece. To each of these he tied a long cord, at the end of which was fastened a large piece of cork, so that if any misfortune should happen to the vessel, these buoys might mark the spot where they lay. The whole treasure however, except a very little, was conveyed home in safety. Yet his two books of accounts, which he kept with great minuteness, were both lost; one by shipwreck with his freedman Philargyrus, who had embarked at Cenchreæ<sup>31</sup>, and the other by fire at Corcyra; for the sailors, on account of the coldness of the weather, kept fires in the tents by night, and thus the misfortune happened. This gave Cato some concern; though Ptolemy's servants, whom he had brought over with him, were sufficient vouchers for his conduct against enemies and informers: for he did not intend these accounts merely as a proof of his honesty, but to recommend the same kind of accuracy to others.

As soon as his arrival with the fleet was notified in Rome, the magistrates and priests and whole senate, with multitudes of the people, went down to

<sup>31</sup> Cenchreæ was the eastern port of Corinth; and Corcyra is the modern Corfu.\*

the river to meet him, and covered both it's banks, so that his reception was something like a triumph. Yet there was an ill-timed haughtiness in his conduct; for though the consuls and prætors came to wait upon him, he did not so much as attempt to make the shore where they were, but rowed carelessly along in a royal six-oared galley, and did not land till he came into port with his whole fleet. The people, however, were struck with admiration at the vast quantity of money that was carried along the streets; and the senate in full assembly bestowed the highest encomiums upon him, and voted him a prætorship extraordinary<sup>35</sup>, and the right of attending public shows in a *prætecta* (or purple-bordered gown): but these honours he thought proper to decline. At the same time he petitioned that they would emancipate Nicias, one of Ptolemy's officers, in favour of whose diligence and fidelity he bore ample testimony.

Philip, the father of Marcia, was at that time consul, and his colleague respected Cato no less for his virtue, than Philip did for his alliance, so that he had in some measure the whole consular interest in his hands. When Cicero returned from that exile, to which he had been sentenced by Clodius, his influence was considerable; and he scrupled not in Clodius' absence, to pull down and destroy the tribunitial edicts, which the latter had put up in the Capitol. Upon this the senate was assembled, and Cicero on Clodius' accusation made his defence, alleging that he had been illegally appointed tribune, and that consequently every act and edict of his office was null and void. Cato interrupted him and said, "That he was indeed sensible, the whole administration of Clodius had been wicked and absurd; but that if every act of his office were to be annulled, all that he had himself done in Cyprus would be annulled likewise, because his commission issuing

<sup>35</sup> A. U. C. 697. Cato was then only in his thirty-eighth year.

“from a tribune illegally appointed could not be  
 “valid: that Clodius, though he was of a patrician  
 “family, had not been chosen tribune contrary to  
 “law, because he had previously been enrolled in  
 “the order of plebeians by an act passed for that  
 “purpose; but that, if he had acted unjustly in his  
 “office, he was liable to a personal impeachment,  
 “while at the same time the office itself retained it’s  
 “proper force and authority.” This occasioned a  
 quarrel for some time between Cicero and Cato, but  
 they were subsequently reconciled\*.

Cæsar, upon his return from Gaul, was met by Pompey and Crassus; and it was agreed that the two last should again be candidates for the consulship, that Cæsar should retain his government five years longer, and that the best provinces, revenues, and troops should be secured to themselves. This was nothing less than a division of empire, and a plot against the liberties of the commonwealth. A junction so alarming deterred many men of distinguished rank and integrity from their design of offering themselves for the consulship. Cato however prevailed on Lucius Domitius, who had married his sister, not to give up the point, or resign his pretensions; since the contest was not then for the consulship, but for the liberties of Rome. The sober part of the citizens agreed, likewise, that the consular power should not be suffered to grow so enormous by the union of Crassus and Pompey; but that at all events they must be separated, and Domitius encouraged and supported in the competition. They assured him, at the same time, that he would have the voices of many of the people, who were at present only silent through fear. Pompey’s party, apprehensive of this, lay in wait for Domitius, as he went before day by torch-light into the Campus Martius. His torch-bearer was killed at the first stroke; the rest were wounded and fled, Cato and Domitius alone except-



ed: for Cato, though he had received a wound in the arm, still detained Domitius on the spot, and conjured him not to desert the cause of freedom while he had life, but to oppose to the utmost those enemies of their country, who showed what use they intended to make of power by seeking it in such an execrable manner.

Domitius however, unable to stand the shock, retired, and Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls. Yet Cato did not shrink from the struggle, but solicited a prætorship for himself; that he might thence, as from a kind of fort, act against the consuls, instead of contending with them in the capacity of a private citizen. The consuls, fearing that the prætorial power of Cato would not be inferior even to the consular authority, suddenly assembled a small senate; and obtained a decree, that those who were elected prætors should immediately enter upon their office<sup>36</sup>, without waiting the usual time to see whether any charge would be adduced against them of bribery and corruption. By these means they brought in their own creatures and dependents, presided at the election, and gave money to the populace. Still, however, the virtue of Cato could not totally lose it's weight. There were still those, who had honesty enough to be ashamed of selling his interest, and wisdom enough to think that it would be of service to the state, to elect him even at the public expense. He was therefore nominated prætor by the votes of the first-summoned tribe<sup>37</sup>, but Pompey

<sup>36</sup> There was always a time allotted between nomination and possession; that, if any undue means had been used in the canvas, they might be detected. (L.) The convicted offenders were deprived of their appointments, and occasionally subjected to a heavy fine. (See Dio. xxxvi. 27., xxxvii. 25.) Cato was now only of age to solicit, not to exercise, the prætorship.\*

<sup>37</sup> Called *Prærogativa*. The centuries originally gave their votes in succession according to Servius Tullius' institution, but subsequently the priority of voting was determined by lot: this was of the greatest importance, for upon it usually depended the election. Hence the derivative meanings of *prærogativa*. (See Cic. pro Planc. xx., pro Muræna. xviii. &c., De Div. II. xl.)\*

scandalously pretending that he heard it thunder, broke up the assembly; for it is not common with the Romans to transact public business, when it thunders. Afterward by means of bribery, and by the exclusion of the virtuous part of the citizens from the assembly, they procured Vatinius to be returned prætor instead of Cato. Those electors, it is said, who voted from such iniquitous motives, immediately, like so many culprits, ran away. To the rest, who assembled and expressed their indignation, Cato was empowered by one of the tribunes to address himself in a speech; in the course of which he foretold, as if inspired by some divine influence, all those evils that then threatened the commonwealth, and stirred up the people against Pompey and Crassus, who in the consciousness of their guilty intentions shrunk from the control of Cato's prætorial power. On his return home he was followed by a greater multitude, than all that had been appointed prætors conjunctively.

When Caius Trebonius moved for the distribution of the consular provinces, and proposed giving Spain and Africa to one of the consuls and Syria and Egypt to the other, together with fleets and armies, and an unbounded power of making war and extending dominion; the rest of the senate, thinking resistance vain, forbore all opposition. Cato however, before it was put to the vote, ascended the Rostrum in order to speak, but he was limited to the space of two hours; and when he had spent this time in repetitions, instructions, and predictions, and was proceeding in his discourse, the lictor dragged him down from the Rostrum. Yet still, when below among the people, he persisted to speak in behalf of liberty; and the people readily attended to him, and joined in his indignation, till the lictor again laid hold of him and turned him out of the Forum. He attempted, notwithstanding, to return to his place, and excited the people to assist him; which being done more than once, Trebonius in a violent rage ordered

him to prison. Thither he was followed by the populace, to whom he addressed himself as he went, till at last Trebonius through fear dismissed him. Thus Cato was that day rescued. But afterward, the people being partly over-awed and partly corrupted, the consular faction, by force of arms, prevented Aquilius, one of the tribunes, from coming out of the senate-house into the assembly; wounded many, killed some, and thrust Cato, who said it thundered, out of the Forum: so that the law was passed by compulsion. This rendered Pompey so obnoxious, that the people were going to pull down his statues, but they were prevented by Cato. On a subsequent day, when the law was proposed for the allotment of Cæsar's provinces, Cato addressing himself particularly to Pompey told him, with great confidence, "He did not then consider, that he was taking Cæsar upon his shoulders; but when he began to find his weight, and could neither support it nor shake it off, they would both sink together, and crush the commonwealth in their fall: and then he would find, too late, that Cato's counsels were no less salutary for himself, than intrinsically just." Yet Pompey, though he had often heard these things, in the confidence of his fortune and his power despised them, and feared no reverse from the part of Cæsar.

Cato was the following year appointed prætor, but he can hardly be said to have contributed so much to the dignity of that high office by the rectitude of his conduct, as to have derogated from it by the meanness of his dress; for he would often go to the prætorial bench without his robe and shoes, and thus sit in judgement, even in capital cases, upon some of the first personages in Rome. Nay, it is even affirmed that he passed sentence, when he had drunk after dinner, but that is not true. He was resolved to extirpate that extreme corruption, which then prevailed among the people in elections of every kind; and in order to effect this, he moved that a law

should be passed in the senate compelling every candidate, though no information should be laid against him, to declare upon oath in what manner he had obtained his election. This gave offence to the candidates, and to the more mercenary part of the people. And as he was going in the morning to the tribunal, he was so much insulted and pelted with stones by the mob, that the whole court took to flight, and he with difficulty escaped into the *Rostrium*. There he stood, and his firm and steady aspect soon hushed the clamours and disorders of the populace; so that, when he spoke upon the subject, he was heard with a general silence<sup>38</sup>. The senate publicly testified their approbation of his conduct; but he answered, that no compliment could be paid to them at least for having deserted the prætor, and declined to assist him when in manifest danger. This measure considerably distressed the candidates: for on one hand they were afraid of giving bribes, and on the other they were apprehensive of losing their election, if bribes should be given by their opponents. They thought it best therefore jointly that each should deposit five hundred sesteria<sup>39</sup>, that they should then canvass in a fair and legal manner, and that if any one were convicted of bribery, he should forfeit his deposit. Of this agreement Cato was appointed guarantee, and the money was to be lodged in his hand, but for that he accepted sureties. When the day of election came, Cato stood next to the tribune

<sup>38</sup> This circumstance in Cato's life affords a good comment on the following passage in Virgil. The laboured dignity and weight of the fourth line, in particular, conveys a very strong and just idea of Cato.

*Ac veluti magno in populo cum sæpe cœorta est  
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus,  
Jamque faces et saxa volant; furor arma ministrat;  
Tum, pietate gravem et meritis si fortè virum quem  
Conspectère, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant.  
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.* (*Æn.* i. 148, &c.)

<sup>39</sup> Cicero speaks of this agreement, in one of his *Epistles to Atticus* (iv. 15.)

who presided, and as he examined the votes, one of the depositing candidates appeared to have made use of some fraud. He therefore ordered him to pay the money to the rest. After complimenting the integrity of Cato however, they remitted the fine, and said that the guilt was a sufficient punishment. Yet Cato by this conduct rendered himself obnoxious to many, who seemed displeased that he affected both the legislative and the judicial power. There is hardly any authority indeed so much exposed to envy as the latter, and hardly any virtue so obnoxious as that of justice, owing to the popular weight and influence, which it always carries along with it. For though he, who virtuously administers justice, may not be respected as a man of valour, nor admired as a man of parts, yet his integrity is always productive of love and confidence. Valour produces fear, and parts create suspicion: they are distinctions, moreover, which are rather given than acquired. One arises from a natural acuteness,\* the other from a natural firmness of mind. As justice, however, is a virtue so easily practicable and attainable, the opposite vice is proportionably odious.

Thus Cato became generally obnoxious to the leading men of Rome. Pompey in particular, whose glory was to rise out of the ruins of his power, laboured with unwearied assiduity to procure impeachments against him. The incendiary Clodius, who had again attached himself to that general, accused Cato of having embezzled a quantity of the Cyprian treasure, and of having raised an opposition to Pompey, because the latter had refused to accept his daughter in marriage. Cato on the other hand maintained, that though he was not so much as supplied with a horse or a soldier by the government, he had yet brought more treasure to the commonwealth from Cyprus, than Pompey had done from so many wars and triumphs over the harassed world. He asserted, that he had never even wished for the alliance of Pompey, not because he thought him unworthy, but

because of the difference of their political principles: "For my own part," said he, "I rejected the province offered me as an appendage to my prætorship; whereas Pompey arrogated some provinces to himself, and some he bestowed upon his friends. Nay he has at present, without even soliciting your consent, accommodated Cæsar in Gaul with six thousand soldiers. Such forces, armaments, and horses are now, it seems, at the disposal of private men: and Pompey retains the title of commander and general, while he delegates to others the legions and the provinces; and continues within the walls to preside at elections, the arbiter of the mob and the fabricator of sedition. From this conduct his principles are obvious. He holds it but one step from anarchy to absolute power<sup>40</sup>." Thus Cato maintained his party against Pompey.

Marcus Favonius was the intimate friend and imitator of Cato, as Apollodorus Phalereus<sup>41</sup> is said to have been of Socrates, who transported him by his discourses even to madness or intoxication. This Favonius stood for the office of ædile, and apparently lost it; but Cato, upon examining the votes, and finding them all written in the same hand, appealed against the fraud, and the tribunes set aside the election. Favonius was thereupon elected, and in the discharge of the several offices of his magistracy, had Cato's assistance, particularly in the theatrical entertainments exhibited to the people. In these, Cato displayed another specimen of his economy; for he did not allow the players and musicians crowns of gold, but of wild olive, such as are used in the

<sup>40</sup> This maxim has in almost every state been abundantly verified. When ambitious men aim at absolute power, their first measure is to impede the regular movements of the constitutional government by throwing all into confusion, that they may ascend to monarchy, as Æneas went to the throne of Carthage, involved in a cloud.

<sup>41</sup> See the end of Plato's *Phædo*, and the beginning named *Symposium*. From his passionate enthusiasm, he was surnamed 'Manicus.'

Olympic games. Instead of expensive presents, he gave the Greeks beets and lettuces and radishes and parsley; and the Romans he presented with jugs of wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and faggots of wood. Some ridiculed the meanness of his presents, while others were delighted with this relaxation from the usual severity of his manners. And Favonius, who appeared only as a common person among the spectators, and had resigned the management of the whole to Cato, declared this circumstance to the people, and publicly applauded his conduct, exhorting him to reward merit of every kind. Curio, the colleague of Favonius, exhibited at the same time in the other theatre a most magnificent entertainment: but the people deserted him, and were much more entertained with seeing Favonius act the private citizen, and Cato the master of the ceremonies. This, however, he probably took upon him, only to show the folly of troublesome and expensive preparations in matters of mere amusement, and that the benevolence and good humour suitable to such occasions would have a far better effect.

When Scipio, Hypsæus, and Milo were candidates for the consulship, and beside the usual infamous practices of bribery and corruption, had recourse to violence and murder and civil war, it was proposed that Pompey should be appointed protector of the election. But Cato opposed this, and said that the laws ought not to owe their security to Pompey, but that Pompey ought to owe his to the laws.

When the consular power however had been long suspended, and the Forum was in some measure besieged by three armies, Cato, that things might not come to the worst, recommended to the senate to confer that power upon Pompey as a favour, with which his own influence would otherwise invest him, and thus make a less evil the remedy for a greater. Bibulus therefore, an agent of Cato, moved in the senate, that Pompey should be created sole consul:

adding, that his administration would either be of eminent service to the state, or that at least, if the commonwealth must have a master, it would have the satisfaction of being under the auspices of the most illustrious man in Rome. Cato, contrary to every one's expectation, seconded the motion; intimating, that any government was preferable to anarchy, and that Pompey promised fair for a constitutional administration, and for the preservation of the city.

Pompey, having been thus elected consul, invited Cato to his house in the suburbs, received him with the warmest caresses and acknowledgements, and entreated him to assist in his measures, and to preside at his councils. Cato replied, that he had neither formerly opposed him out of private enmity, nor recently supported him out of personal favour, but that the welfare of the state had been his motive in both: that in private he would assist him with his counsel, whenever he should be called upon; but that in public he should speak his sentiments, whether they might be in his favour or not. And he did not fail to act accordingly. For soon afterward, when Pompey proposed severe punishments and penalties against those who had been guilty of bribery, Cato gave it as his opinion, that the past should be overlooked, and the future only adverted to: as, if he should scrutinise into former offences of that kind, it would be difficult to say where it would end; and should he establish *ex post facto* penal laws, it would be hard that those, who might be convicted of former offences, should suffer for the breach of regulations not then in existence. Subsequently likewise, when impeachments were brought against several persons of rank, and some of Pompey's friends among the rest, Cato observing that Pompey favoured the latter reproved him with great freedom, and urged him to the discharge of his duty. Pompey had enacted, that encomiums should no longer be spoken in favour of the prisoner at the bar; and yet he gave into the



court a written encomium<sup>42</sup> on Munatius Plancus, when he was upon his trial; but Cato, who was one of the judges, instantly stopped his ears, and forbade the apology to be read. Plancus, upon this, objected to Cato's remaining on the bench; yet was he, nevertheless, condemned. Cato, indeed, gave the criminals in general no small perplexity; for they were equally afraid of having him for their judge, and of objecting to him; as in the latter case it was generally understood, that they were unwilling to rely upon their innocence, and they were on that account condemned. Nay, to object to the judgement of Cato became a common subject of accusation and reproach.

Cæsar, at the same time that he was prosecuting the war in Gaul, was cultivating his interest in the city, by all that friendship and munificence could effect. Pompey saw this, and waked as from a dream to the warnings of Cato; yet he still remained indolent, and Cato, who perceived the political necessity of opposing Cæsar, determined to offer himself for the consulship, that he might thus oblige him either to lay down his arms, or to discover his designs. Cato's competitors were both men of credit; but Sulpitius<sup>43</sup>, who was one of them, had himself derived considerable advantages from the authority of Cato. Upon this account he was censured as ungrateful, though Cato was not offended; "For what wonder," said he, "is it, that what a man esteems the highest happiness, he should be unwilling to resign to another?" He procured an act in the senate that no candidate should canvass by means of others. This exasperated the people, because it in-

<sup>42</sup> Dion calls this an eulogium and a petition, *ἐπαῖνον τε αἰτιολογίαν καὶ τὴν αἰτιολογίαν*.

Munatius Plancus, erroneously called 'Flaccus' in the Greek, was then tribune of the people. He was accused by Cicero, and defended by Pompey, but unanimously condemned.

<sup>43</sup> The competitors were M. Claudius Marcellus, and Servius Sulpitius Rufus. The former, according to Dion (xl. 58.), was chosen for his eloquence, and the latter for his knowledge of the laws.

tercepted at once the means of cultivating favour and of conveying bribes, and thus rendered the lower order of citizens poor and insignificant. To this act it was in some measure owing that he lost the consulship; for he consulted his dignity too much, to canvass in a popular manner himself, and his friends could not then do it for him.

A repulse, in this case, is for some time attended with shame and sorrow, both to the candidate and his friends. But Cato was so little affected by it, that he anointed himself to play at ball, and walked as usual after dinner with his friends in the Forum, without his tunic and shoes: and Cicero, sensible how much Rome stood in need of such a consul, at once blamed his indolence with regard to courting the people upon this occasion, and his inattention to future success; though he had twice applied for the prætorship. Cato answered, that his ill success in the latter case was owing not to the aversion of the people, but to the corrupt and compulsive measures used among them: whereas, in an application for the consulship, no such measures could be used; and he felt therefore that the citizens were offended by those manners, which it did not become a wise man either to change for their sakes, or to retain and by repeating his application to expose himself to a repetition of the same ill success.

Cæsar had, at this time, gained many hazardous victories over warlike nations; and falling upon the Germans, though then at peace with the Romans, had slain three hundred thousand of them. Many of the citizens, on this occasion, voted a public thanksgiving; but Cato was of a different opinion, and said, "That Cæsar ought to be given up to the nations whom he had injured, lest his conduct should bring a curse upon the city; yet the gods," he said, "should be thanked, notwithstanding, that they had not caused the soldiers to suffer for the madness and wickedness of their general, but had in mercy spared the state." Cæsar, upon this, sent letters to the se-

nate full of invectives against Cato. When they were read, Cato rose with great calmness, and in a speech so regular that it seemed premeditated, observed with regard to the letters, as they contained nothing but a little of Cæsar's buffoonery, they deserved not to be answered: and then laying open the whole plan of his conduct, more like a friend who knew his bosom-counsels than an enemy, he showed the senate that it was not the Britons<sup>44</sup> or the Gauls, but Cæsar himself whom they had to fear. This alarmed them so much, that the adherents of that general were sorry they had produced the letters, which occasioned it. Nothing, however, was at that time resolved upon: it was only debated concerning the propriety of appointing a successor to Cæsar; and when his friends required, that in that case Pompey should likewise relinquish his army, and resign his provinces; "Now," cried Cato, "is coming to pass the event, which I foretold<sup>45</sup>. It is obvious, that Cæsar will have recourse to arms; and that the power, which he has obtained by deceiving the people, he will use to enslave them." Cato, however, had but little influence out of the senate, for the people were bent on aggrandising Cæsar; and even the senate, though convinced by Cato's arguments, were afraid of their resentment.

When intelligence arrived that Cæsar had taken Ariminum, and was advancing with his army toward

<sup>44</sup> Amyot thinks, we ought here to read Γερμανοι, not Βρεταννοι.

<sup>45</sup> But was not this very impolitic in Cato? Was it not a vain sacrifice to his ambition of prophecy? Cæsar could not long remain unacquainted with what had passed in the senate; and Cato's observation was therefore not much more discreet than it would be to tell a madman, who had a flambeau in his hand, that he intended to burn a house. Cato in our opinion, with all his virtue, contributed not less to the destruction of the commonwealth than Cæsar himself. Wherefore did he idly exasperate that ambitious man, by objecting against a public thanksgiving for his victories? There was a prejudice in this part of his conduct, which had but the shadow of virtue to support it. Nay, it is more than probable that it was out of spite to Cæsar, that Cato gave the whole consular power to Pompey. It must be remembered, that Cæsar had debauched Cato's sister.

Rome, the people in general, and even Pompey himself, cast their eyes upon Cato, as the only person who had originally foreseen his designs. "Had you, at that time," said Cato, "attended to my counsels, you would neither now have feared the power, nor trusted in the counsels, of a single man." Pompey replied, "That Cato had indeed been a better prophet, but that he had himself acted a more friendly part." Cato then advised the senate to put every thing into Pompey's hands; "For the authors of great evils," he observed, "knew best how to remove them." As Pompey perceived that his forces were insufficient, and that even the few he had were by no means hearty in his cause, he thought proper to leave the city. Cato being determined to follow him, sent his youngest son to Munatius, who was in the country of the Brutii, and carried the eldest along with him. As his family, and particularly his daughters, wanted a proper superintendent, he took Marcia again, who was then become a rich widow; for Hortensius was dead, and had left her his whole estate. This circumstance gave Cæsar occasion to reproach Cato with his avarice, and to call him, 'the mercenary husband.' "For why," said he, "did he part with her, if he had occasion for her himself? And, if he had not occasion for her, why did he take her again? The reason is obvious. It was a bait for Hortensius' wealth. He lent her out young, that he might receive her back rich." But, in answer to this, one need only quote that passage of Euripides<sup>46</sup>,

Call Hercules a coward!

For it would be as absurd to reproach Cato with covetousness, as it would be to charge Hercules with cowardice. Whether or not the conduct of Cato was altogether unexceptionable in this affair,

<sup>46</sup> This passage is in the first act of the '*Hercules Furens*,' where Amphitryon replies to Lycus, charging Hercules with cowardice.

is another question. As soon as he had re-married Marcia, however, he resigned to her the charge of his family, and followed Pompey.

From that time, it is said, that he neither cut his hair, nor shaved his beard, nor wore a garland; but was uniform in his dress, as in his anguish for his country. On which side soever victory might for a while declare, he made no change upon that account in his habit. Being appointed to the government of Sicily, he passed over to Syracuse; and finding that Asinius Pollio had arrived at Messina with a detachment from the enemy, he sent to him to demand the reason of his coming: but Pollio only answered his question by another, and demanded of Cato in return the cause of those revolutions. When he was informed that Pompey had evacuated Italy, and was encamped at Dyrrhachium, "How mysterious," said he, "are the ways of Providence! as long as Pompey acted upon principles neither of wisdom nor of justice, he was invincible; but, now that he would save the liberties of his country, his good fortune seems to have forsaken him. Asinius," he said, "he could easily drive out of Sicily; but as more considerable supplies were at hand, he was unwilling to involve the island in war." He therefore advised the Syracusans to consult their safety by joining the stronger party, and soon afterward set sail. When he came to Pompey, his constant opinion was, that the war should be procrastinated in hopes of peace; for that if they came to blows, which party so ever might be successful, the event would prove decisive against the liberties of the state. He also prevailed upon Pompey and the council of war, that neither any city subject to the Romans should be sacked, nor any Roman killed, except in the field of battle. By this he gained great glory, and through his mildness and humanity brought over many to Pompey's interest.

When he went into Asia for the purpose of raising men and ships, he took with him his sister Servilia,

and a little boy that she had borne to Lucullus; for, since the death of her husband, she had lived with her brother: and this circumstance of putting herself under Cato's eye, and following him through the severe discipline of camps, not a little contributed to the recovery of her reputation; yet Cæsar did not fail to asperse even Cato on her account.

Though Pompey's officers in Asia did not think that they had much need of Cato's assistance, yet he brought over the Rhodians to their party; and leaving there his sister Servilia and her son, he joined that general's forces, which were now on a respectable footing both by sea and land. It was upon this occasion, that Pompey discovered his final views. At first, he intended to have appointed Cato to the supreme naval command; and he had then not fewer than five hundred men of war, beside an infinite number of open galleys and tenders. But reflecting himself, or being reminded by his friends, that Cato's single principle was to rescue the commonwealth from the government of an individual, and that if invested with so considerable a power the moment Cæsar should be vanquished, he would oblige Pompey likewise to lay down his arms and submit to the laws; he changed his intentions, though he had already mentioned them to Cato, and gave the command of the fleet to Bibulus. The zeal of Cato, however, was not abated by this conduct. When they were on the eve of battle at Dyrrhachium, Pompey himself addressed and encouraged the army, and ordered his officers to do the same. Their addresses, notwithstanding, were coldly received. But when Cato rose and spoke, upon the principles of philosophy, concerning liberty, virtue, death, and glory; when by his impassioned action he showed that he felt what he spoke, and that his eloquence took it's glowing colours from his soul; when in conclusion he invoked the gods, as witnesses of their efforts for the preservation of their country—the plaudits of the army rent the skies, and the generals

marched forward in full confidence of victory. They fought, and were victorious; though Cæsar's good genius enabled him to avail himself of the frigid caution and diffidence of Pompey, and rendered the victory incomplete. But these things have been related in the Life of Pompey. Amidst the general joy that followed this success, Cato alone mourned over his country, and bewailed the fatal and cruel ambition, which had covered the field with the bodies of citizens slain by each other's hands. When Pompey in pursuit of Cæsar proceeded to Thessaly, and left in Dyrrhachium a large quantity of arms and treasure, together with some friends and relations, he gave the whole in charge to Cato, with the command however of only fifteen cohorts; for he was still afraid of his republican principles. If he should be vanquished, indeed, he knew that Cato would prove faithful to him; but if he should be victor, he knew at the same time, as above stated, that he would not permit him to reap the reward of conquest in the sweets of absolute power. Cato, however, had the satisfaction of being attended by many illustrious persons in Dyrrhachium.

After the fatal overthrow at Pharsalia, he determined, in the event of Pompey's death, to conduct the people under his charge to Italy, and then to retire into exile, far from the cognisance of the tyrant's power; but, if he survived, to keep his little army together for his future use. With this design, he passed into Corcyra, where the fleet was stationed; and would there have resigned his command to Cicero, because he had been consul, and he himself only prætor. But Cicero declined it, and set sail for Italy. Pompey the younger resented this defection, and was about to lay violent hands on Cicero and some others, had not Cato by private expostulation prevented him, and thus saved the lives both of Cicero and of all the rest.

Cato, supposing that Pompey the Great would make his escape into Egypt or Lybia, prepared to

Follow him with his small force, after having first allowed to such as chose it the liberty of staying behind. Upon reaching and coasting along the shores of Africa, he met with Sextus, Pompey's younger son, who acquainted him with his father's death. This deeply afflicted the little band; but as Pompey was no more, they unanimously resolved to have no other leader than Cato. Cato, out of compassion to the honest men who had placed their confidence in him, and because he would not leave them destitute in a foreign country, took upon him the command. He first made for Cyrene, and was received by the people, though they had previously shut their gates against Labienus. Here he understood that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was entertained by Juba; and that Appius Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government of Africa, had joined them with his forces. Cato therefore, as it was now winter, resolved to march to them by land. He had collected a great many asses to carry water, and furnished himself also with considerable booty, as well as with a number of carriages. He had likewise in his train some of the people called *Psylli*<sup>47</sup>, who obviate the

<sup>47</sup> These people were so called from their king *Psyllus*, whose tomb was in the region of the *Syrtes*. *Varro* informs us, that to try the legitimacy of their children, they suffer them to be bitten by a venomous serpent; and, if they survive the wound, they conclude that they are not spurious. *Crates Pergamenus* says, there were a people of this kind at *Paros* on the *Hellespont*, called *Ophiogeneis*, whose touch alone was a cure for a serpent's bite. (*Strabo* xvii. ascribes to the *Tentyrites*, an Egyptian people, the same virtue with the *Psylli* in regard to crocodiles.\*) *Celsus* observes, that the *Psylli* suck out the poison from the wound, not by any superior skill or quality, but because they have courage enough to do it. [The use of sucking in the cure of wounds is recorded by *Homer*, and *Tacitus* *De Mor. Germ.* (according to one reading at least of the passage), and in much later times, is confirmed by the instance of our own *Eleanor*, the queen of *Edw. I.*\*) Some writers assert, that the *Psylli* have an innate quality in their constitution poisonous to serpents, and that the smell of it throws them into a profound sleep. *Pliny* maintains, that every man has in himself a natural poison for serpents, and that those creatures will shun the human saliva as they would boiling water. The fasting saliva in particular, if it



bad effects of the bite of serpents by sucking out the poison, and deprive the serpents themselves of their ferocity by charms. During a continued march for seven days, he was always foremost, though he used neither horse nor chariot. Ever after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalia, he ate, sitting<sup>48</sup>; intending it as an additional token of mourning, that he never lay down except to sleep.

By the end of winter he reached the place of his designation in Lybia, with an army of nearly ten thousand men. The affairs of Scipio and Varus were in a bad situation, on account of the misunderstanding and distraction which prevailed between them, and led them to pay their court with great servility to Juba, a prince by his wealth and power now become intolerably arrogant. For, when he first gave Cato audience, he seated himself between Scipio and Cato. But Cato took up his chair, and removed it to the other side of Scipio; thus giving him the most honourable place, though he was his enemy, and had published a libel against him. Cato's adversaries have not paid proper regard to his spirit upon this occasion; but they have been ready enough to blame him for having put Philostratus<sup>49</sup> in the middle, when he was walking with him one day in Sicily, though

comes within their mouths, occasions their instant death. If, therefore, we may believe that the human saliva is an antidote to the poison of a serpent, though this is by no means a necessary consequence of its mortal effect on the serpent itself, we shall have no occasion to believe at the same time that the Psylli were endowed with any peculiar qualities of this kind, but that their success in these operations arose (as Celsus says) *Ex audaciâ usu confirmatâ*. They made, however, a considerable trade of it; and we are assured, that they have been known to import the African serpents into Italy and other countries, in order to increase their emoluments. Pliny says, they brought scorpions into Sicily, but they would not live in that island. (L.) The prophet Jeremiah (viii, 17.) threatens those whom he addresses with 'cockatrices, which will not be charmed.'

\* Instead of reclining on a couch. The consul Varro did the same after the battle of Cannæ. It was a ceremony of mourning.

<sup>49</sup> This Philostratus is again mentioned in the Life of Antony, but as one who under the cloak of the Academic theory concealed an Epicurean practice.\*

he did it entirely in compliment to philosophy. In this manner he humbled Juba, who had considered Scipio and Varus as little more than his lieutenants; and he succeeded, also, in reconciling them to each other.

The whole army then desired him to take upon himself the command, and Scipio and Varus readily offered to resign it; but he said, "He would not transgress the laws, for the sake of which he was waging war with the man that trampled upon them; nor, when he was only proprator, take the command from a proconsul." For Scipio had been appointed proconsul, and his name inspired the generality with hopes of success; as they thought, that a Scipio could not be beaten in Africa<sup>50</sup>.

Scipio being established commander-in-chief was inclined, for Juba's gratification, to put all the inhabitants of Utica<sup>51</sup> to the sword, and to rase the city, as a place engaged in the interest of Cæsar. But Cato would not suffer it: he inveighed loudly in council against the design, invoking heaven and earth to oppose it, and with much difficulty rescued that people from the meditated cruelty. After which, partly upon their application and partly at the request of Scipio, he agreed to accept the command of the town, that it might neither willingly nor unwillingly fall into Cæsar's hands. It was a place indeed, very convenient and advantageous to those who were masters of it; and Cato added much to it's strength. For he brought into it a vast quantity of bread-corn, repaired the walls, erected towers, and fortified it with ditches and ramparts. He then disarmed all the youth of Utica, and posted them in the trenches under his own eye: as for the rest of the inhabitants, he kept them close within the walls;

<sup>50</sup> Arguing from the victory of Zama, and the destruction of Carthage.\*

<sup>51</sup> *Hod.* Biserta, or Satcor, in Byzacene or Tunis. Thapsus likewise, and Adrymetum (*hod.* Mahometta) mentioned below were cities in the same kingdom, nearly opposite to Malta.\*

but, at the same time, he took great care that they should suffer no injury of any kind from the Romans. And from the supply of arms, money, and provisions, which he sent in great quantities to the camp, Utica was considered as the principal magazine.

The advice, which he had before given to Pompey, he now gave to Scipio: "not to risk a battle with an able and experienced warrior, but to take the advantage of time, which most effectually blasts the growth of tyranny." Scipio however in his rashness despised these counsels, and upon one occasion even scrupled not to reproach Cato himself with cowardice; asking him, "Whether he could not be satisfied with sitting still himself within walls and bars, unless he likewise hindered others from occasionally adopting bolder measures?" Cato wrote back, "That he was ready to cross over into Italy, with the horse and foot which he had brought into Africa, and by drawing Cæsar upon himself to divert him from his design against Scipio." But Scipio only ridiculed the proposal; and it was plain that Cato now repented his having resigned to him the command, as he perceived that he would adopt no rational plan for the conduct of the war; and that, if he should beyond all expectation succeed, he would behave with no kind of moderation toward the citizens. It was therefore Cato's judgement, and he declared it to his friends, "That on account of the incapacity and rashness of the generals, he could expect no happy termination of the struggle; and that, even if victory should declare for them and Cæsar be destroyed, for his part he would not remain in Rome, but fly from the cruelty and inhumanity of Scipio, who had already begun to throw out harsh and insolent menaces against many of the Romans."

The event took place sooner than he had expected. About midnight a person arrived from the army, whence he had been three days in coming, with intelligence that a great battle had been fought at Thapsus; that all was lost; that Cæsar was master

of both the camps; and that Scipio and Juba had fled with a few troops, which had escaped the general slaughter.

On the receipt of these tidings the people of Utica, as might be expected amidst the apprehensions of night and war, were in the utmost distraction, and could scarcely keep themselves within the walls. But Cato making his appearance among the citizens, who were running up and down the streets with extreme confusion and clamour, encouraged them in the best manner he could. To remove the violence of their terror and astonishment, he told them the case might not be so bad as it was represented, the misfortune being possibly exaggerated by report; and thus he calmed the present tumult. As soon as it was light, he summoned to the temple of Jupiter the three hundred, whom he made use of as a council. These were Romans, who trafficked there in merchandise and exchange of money: and to them he added all the senators, and their sons. While they were assembling, he entered the house with the utmost composure and firmness of look, as if nothing extraordinary had happened; and read a book, which he had in his hand. This contained an account of the arms, stores, bows, and other implements of war, and the musters.

When they were met, he opened the matter with commending the three hundred for the extraordinary alacrity and fidelity, which they had shown in serving the public cause with their purses, persons, and counsels; and exhorting them not to entertain discordant views, or to endeavour to save themselves by flight. "For," continued he, "so long as you keep in a body, Cæsar will not hold you in such contempt, if you continue the war; and you will be more likely to be spared, if you have recourse to submission. I desire you will consider the point thoroughly, and what resolution sever you may take, I will not censure you. Should you feel yourselves inclined to go with the stream of

“fortune, I shall impute the change to the necessity  
“of the times: on the other hand, should you bear  
“up against their threatening aspect, and continue  
“to face danger in the cause of liberty, I will be  
“your fellow-soldier as well as captain, till our coun-  
“try has experienced the last issues of her fate—Our  
“country, which is not Utica or Adrymetum, but  
“Rome; and she, by her vast efforts, has often re-  
“covered herself from greater falls than this. Many  
“resources we, certainly, have at present for our  
“protection and safety; and the principal is, that  
“we have to struggle with a man, whose occasions  
“oblige him to attend to various objects. Spain is  
“gone over to young Pompey; and Rome, as yet  
“unaccustomed to the yoke, is ready to spurn it  
“from her, and to rise upon any prospect of change.  
“Neither is danger to be declined. In this, you  
“may take your enemy for a pattern, who is prodigal  
“of his blood in the most unjust of causes; whereas  
“if you succeed, you will live the happiest of lives, and  
“if you miscarry, the uncertainties of war will be ter-  
“minated by the most glorious of deaths. Delibe-  
“rate, however, among yourselves as to the steps  
“now to be taken, first entreating heaven to prosper  
“your determinations, in a manner worthy the cou-  
“rage and zeal which you have already displayed.”

This speech of Cato inspired some with confidence, and even with hope, and the generality were so much affected with his intrepid, generous, humane turn of mind, that they almost forgot their present danger; and considering him as the only general that was invincible, and superior to all fortune, they desired him to “make what use he thought proper of their fortunes and their arms; for that it was better to die under his banner, than to save their lives at the expense of betraying so much virtue.” One of the council suggested the expediency of a decree for enfranchising the slaves, and many approved the motion: Cato, however said, “He would not do that, because it was neither just nor lawful; but

“such as their masters would voluntarily discharge he would receive, provided they were of a proper age to bear arms.” This, many promised to do; and Cato withdrew, after having ordered lists to be made out of all that should offer.

A little afterward, letters were brought him from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who lay with a small corps concealed in the mountains, desired to know Cato’s intentions; proposing to wait for him, if he left Utica, or to assist him, if he chose to stand a siege. Scipio also lay at anchor under a promontory near Utica, expecting his answer to a similar proposal.

Cato thought it advisable to detain the messengers, till he should know the final determination of the three hundred. All, that were of the senatorial order, with great readiness enfranchised and armed their slaves; but as for the three hundred, who dealt in traffic and loans of money at high interest, and whose slaves are a considerable part of their fortune, the impression which Cato’s speech had made upon them did not last long. As some bodies easily receive heat, and with equal ease grow cold again after the fire is removed, so the sight of Cato warmed and expanded those traders; but when they came to discuss the matter among themselves, the dread of Cæsar soon put to flight their reverence for Cato and for virtue. For “What are we,” they argued, “and what is the man, whose orders we refuse to receive? Is it not Cæsar, into whose hands the whole power of the Roman empire is fallen? And surely none of us is a Scipio, a Pompey, or a Cato. Shall we, at a time when their fears make all men entertain sentiments beneath their dignity, shall we in Utica contend for the liberty of Rome with a man against whom Cato and Pompey the Great durst not make a stand in Italy? Shall we enfranchise our slaves to oppose Cæsar, who have no more liberty ourselves, than that conqueror may be pleased to leave us? Ah! wretches that we

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“are! Let us at last know ourselves, and send deputies to intercede with him for mercy.” This was the language of the most moderate among the three hundred: but the chief part of them lay in wait for the senators, thinking that if they could seize upon them, they should more easily make their peace with Cæsar. Cato suspected the change, but he uttered no remonstrances against it: he only wrote to Scipio and Juba, directing them to remain at a distance from Utica, because the three hundred were not to be depended upon.

In the mean time, a considerable body of cavalry who had escaped out of the battle approached Utica, and despatched three men to Cato, though they could come to no unanimous resolution. For some were for joining Juba, some Cato, and some were afraid to enter Utica. This account being brought to Cato, he ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the business of the three hundred, and quietly without any compulsion to enrol the names of such as offered to emancipate their slaves. He then went out of the town, taking the senators along with him, to a conference with the principal officers of the cavalry. He entreated their officers not to abandon so many Roman senators, nor to choose Juba rather than Cato for their general; but to unite and mutually contribute to each other's safety by entering the city, which was impregnable in point of strength, and had provisions and every thing necessary for defence for many years. The senators seconded this application with prayers and tears. The officers went to consult the troops under their command; and Cato, with the senators, sat down upon one of the mounds to wait their answer.

At that moment Rubrius came up in great fury, inveighing against the three hundred, who (he said) had behaved in a most disorderly manner, and were raising commotions in the city. Upon this, many of the senators thought their condition desperate,

and indulged the strongest expressions of grief. But Cato endeavoured to encourage them, and requested the three hundred to have patience.

Neither was there any thing moderate in the proposals of the cavalry. Their reply was, "That they neither desired to be in the pay of Juba, nor did they fear Cæsar so long as they should have Cato for their general; but to be shut up with Uticans, Phœnicians who would change with the wind, was what they could not endure. For" (said they) "if they are quiet now, yet when Cæsar arrives, they will betray us, and plot our destruction. Whoever therefore desires us to range under his banners there, must first expel the Uticans, or put them to the sword, and then invite us into a place clear of enemies and barbarians." These proposals appeared to Cato extremely barbarous and savage; he answered with mildness, however, "That he would confer with the three hundred about them." And then again entering the city, he applied to that set of men, who now no longer out of reverence to him dissembled or palliated their designs, but openly expressed their resentment, that any citizens should presume to lead them against Cæsar, with whom all contest was alike beyond their power and their hopes. Nay, some went so far as to say, "That the senators ought to be detained in the town, till Cæsar came." Cato let this pass, as if he had not heard it; and, indeed, he was a little deaf.

But being informed that the cavalry were marching off, he was afraid that the three hundred would take some desperate step with respect to the senators; and he therefore with his friends went in pursuit of them. As he found they were already under march, he rode after them. With pleasure they beheld him approach, and exhorted him to go with them, and save his life with theirs. Upon this occasion, it is said, Cato shed tears, while he interceded with extended hands in behalf of the senators. He even



turned the heads of some of their horses, and laid hold on their armour, till he prevailed with them to stay at least that day, in order to secure these unhappy men's retreat.

When he came back with them, and had committed the charge of the gates to some, and the citadel to others, the three hundred were under great apprehensions of being punished for their inconstancy, and sent to entreat him by all means to return and speak to them. But the senators would not suffer him to go. They exclaimed, they would never let their guardian and deliverer trust himself in the hands of such perfidious and traitorous men. It was now, indeed, that Cato's virtue appeared to all ranks of men in Utica in the clearest light, and commanded the highest love and admiration. Nothing could be more evident, than that the most perfect integrity was the guide of his actions. He had long resolved to put an end to his being, and yet he submitted to inexpressible labours, cares, and conflicts for others; that, after he had secured their lives, he might relinquish his own. For his intentions in that respect were obvious enough, though he endeavoured to conceal them.

After having satisfied the senators therefore as well as he could, he went alone to wait upon the three hundred. "They thanked him for the favour, and implored him to trust them and make use of their services; but as they were no Catos, and had not Cato's dignity of mind, they hoped he would pity their weakness. They told him, they had resolved to despatch deputies to Cæsar, to intercede first and principally in his behalf. If that request should not be granted, they would have no obligation to him for any favour to themselves; but, as long as they had breath, they would fight for Cato." Cato made his acknowledgements to them for their regard, and advised them to send immediately to intercede for themselves. "For," said he, "intercede not. It is for the con-

“ quered to turn suppliants, and for those who have  
 “ done an injury to beg pardon. For my part, I  
 “ have been unconquered throughout life, and superior  
 “ in the thing in which I wished to be so ; for  
 “ in justice and honour I am superior even to Cæsar.  
 “ Cæsar is the vanquished, the falling man, being  
 “ now clearly convicted of those designs against his  
 “ country, which he has long denied.”

After he had thus spoken to the three hundred, he left them ; and being informed that Cæsar was already on his march toward Utica, “ Strange !” said he, “ it seems he takes us for men.” He then went to the senators, and desired them to hasten their flight while the cavalry remained. He likewise shut all the gates except that leading to the sea, appointed ships for those that were to depart, provided for good order in the town, redressed grievances, composed disturbances, and furnished all that stood in need with the necessary provisions for the voyage. About this time, Marcus Octavius<sup>1</sup> approached the place with two legions ; and, as soon as he had encamped, sent to desire Cato to settle with him the business of the command. Cato gave the messengers no answer, but turning to his friends said, “ Need we wonder that our cause has not prospered, “ when we retain our ambition on the very brink of “ ruin.”

In the mean time, having received intelligence that the cavalry on their departure were seizing the goods of the Uticans as lawful prize, he hastened up to them, and snatched the plunder out of the hands of the foremost ; upon which they all threw down what they had taken, and retired in silence dejected and ashamed. He then assembled the Uticans, and applied to them in behalf of the three hundred, desiring them not to exasperate Cæsar against those Romans, but to act in concert with them, and consult each other's safety.

<sup>1</sup> The same, who had commanded Pompey's fleet.

After this, he returned to the sea-side to look up on the embarkation; and such of his friends and acquaintances, as he could persuade to go, he embraced and dismissed with great marks of affection. His son was unwilling to depart with the rest; and he thought it not right to insist upon his leaving a father, to whom he was so strongly attached. There was one Statyllius<sup>52</sup> a young man, who affected a firmness of resolution above his years, and in all respects studied to appear like Cato, superior to passion. As this youth's enmity to Cæsar was well known, Cato desired him by all means to take ship with the rest: and when he found him bent upon staying, he turned to Apollonides the Stoic and Demetrius the Peripatetic, and said; "It is your business to reduce this man's extravagance of mind, and to make him see what is for his good." He now dismissed all, except such as had business of importance with him; and in concerns of this kind he employed that night, and great part of the following day.

Lucius Cæsar, a relation of the conqueror, who intended to intercede for the three hundred, desired Cato to assist him in composing a suitable speech. "And for you," said he, "I shall think it an honour to become the most humble suppliant, and even to throw myself at his feet." Cato, however, would not suffer it: "If I chose," said he, "to be indebted to Cæsar for my life, I ought to go in person, and without any mediator; but I will have no obligation to a tyrant in a business, by which he subverts the laws. And he does subvert the laws, by saving as a master those, over whom he has no right of authority. Nevertheless we will consider, if you please, how to make your application more effectual in behalf of the three hundred."

After he had spent some time with Lucius Cæsar

<sup>52</sup> This brave young Roman was the same who, after the battle of Philippi, went through the enemy to inquire into the condition of Brutus' camp, and was slain in his return by Cæsar's soldiers.

upon this affair, he recommended his son and his friends to his protection, conducted him a little on his way, and then took his leave, and retired to his own house. His son and the rest of his friends being there assembled, he discoursed with them a considerable time, and among other things charged the young man to take no share in the administration: "For the state of affairs," said he, "is such, that it is impossible for you to fill any office in a manner worthy of Cato; and to do it otherwise, would be unworthy of yourself."

In the evening, he went to the bath; where be-  
 thinking himself of Statyllius, he called out aloud to Apollonides, and said, "Have you lowered the pride of that young man; and is he gone without bidding us farewell?" "No indeed," answered the philosopher, "we have taken a great deal of pains with him, but he continues as lofty and resolute as ever; he says he will stay, and certainly imitate your conduct." Cato then smiled, and replied, "That will soon be seen."

When he had bathed, he went with a large company to supper, at which he sate as he had always done since the battle of Pharsalia; for as we have observed above, he never now lay down except to sleep. All his friends, and the magistrates of Utica, supped with him. After supper, the wine was seasoned with much wit and learning; and many questions in philosophy were proposed and discussed. In the course of the conversation, they came to the 'Paradoxes' of the Stoics (for so their maxims are commonly called), and to this in particular, "That the good man only is free, and all the bad are slaves"<sup>53</sup>. The Peripatetic, in pursuance of his

<sup>53</sup> This was not only the sentiment of the Stoics, but of Socrates. (L.) See Cic. Paradox. v.—and see a more divine authority, Gal. v. 1. where mention is made of 'the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made us free'—an idea happily amplified by Cowper, at the end of the fifth book of his Task:

He is the freeman, whom the Truth makes free,  
 And all are slaves beside, &c.\*

principles, took up the argument against it. Upon which Cato attacked him with great warmth, and in a louder and more vehement accent than usual, carried on a most spirited discourse to a considerable length. From the tenor of it the whole company perceived, that he had determined to put an end to his being, in order to extricate himself from the hard conditions, upon which alone he could expect to hold it.

As he found a deep and melancholy silence the consequence of his harangue, he endeavoured to recover the spirits of his guests, and to remove their suspicions by talking of their present affairs, and expressing his fears both for his friends and partisans who were upon their voyage, and for those who had to make their way through a parched and barbarous country.

After the entertainment was finished, he took his usual evening-walk with his friends, and having given the officers of the guards such orders as the occasion required, retired to his chamber. The extraordinary ardour, with which he embraced his son and his friends at this parting, revived all their suspicions. He lay down, and began to read Plato's book on the Immortality of the Soul; but before he had gone through with it he looked up, and took notice that his sword was not at the head of his bed, where it used to hang; for his son had taken it away, while he was at supper. He therefore called his servant, and asked him, "Who had taken away his sword?" As the servant made no answer, he returned to his book; and after a while without any appearance of haste or hurry, as if it was only by accident that he called for the sword, he ordered him to bring it. The servant still delayed to comply with his direction, and he had patience till he had finished the perusal of his book: he then called his servants one by one, and in a louder tone demanded his sword. At last, he struck one of them such a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand; and growing more angry, and

raising his voice still higher, he cried out, "I am betrayed, and delivered naked to my enemy by my son and my servants." His son then ran in with his friends, and tenderly embracing him, had recourse to tears and entreaties. But Cato rose up, and with a stern and awful look thus expressed himself: "When and where did I show any signs of distraction, that nobody offers to dissuade me by argument from any wrong purpose, which I may have adopted, but I must be prevented from pursuing my resolutions by being disarmed? And you, young man, why do not you also bind your father, and tie his hands behind his back, that when Cæsar comes he may find me utterly incapable of resistance? As to a sword, I have no need of it to despatch myself; for if I do but retain my breath a while, or dash my head against the wall, it will answer the purpose quite as well."

Upon his speaking in this manner, the young man went out of the chamber weeping, and with him all the rest, except Demetrius and Apollonides. To these philosophers he addressed himself in a milder tone; "Are you also determined to make a man of my age live, whether he will or not? And do you sit here in silence, to watch me? Or do you bring any arguments to prove that, now Cato has no hopes from any other quarter, it is neither painful nor dishonourable to implore mercy from his enemy. Why do not you begin a lecture in order to inform me better; that so, dismissing the opinions in which you and I have lived, we may through Cæsar's means grow wiser, and thus have a still greater obligation to him? As yet, I have determined nothing with respect to myself; but I ought to have it in my power to carry my purpose into execution, whenever I shall have formed it. And indeed I shall in some measure consult with you, for I shall proceed in my deliberations upon the principles of your philosophy. Be satisfied then,

“and go tell my son, if persuasion prove insufficient, not to have recourse to constraint.”

They made no answer, but went out, the tears falling from their eyes as they withdrew. The sword was sent in by a little boy. He drew and examined it, and finding the point and the edge good, “Now,” said he, “I am master of myself.” Then laying down the sword, he took up the book again, and (it is said) re-perused the whole twice<sup>54</sup>. After which, he slept so soundly, that he was heard by those who were in waiting without. About midnight he called for two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the physician, and Butas whom he generally employed about public business. The latter he sent to the port, to see whether all the Romans had put off to sea, and to bring him back information.

In the mean time, he ordered the physician to dress his hand, which was inflamed by the blow he had given his servant. This was some consolation to the whole house, for they now thought that he had dropped his design against his life. Soon after this, Butas returned and informed him that they were all got off except Crassus, who had been detained by some business, but that he intended to embark very soon, though the wind blew hard and the sea was tempestuous. Cato upon this intelligence sighed in pity of his friends on ship-board, and sent Butas down again, that if any of them should have put back and be in want of any thing, he might acquaint him with it.

By this time the birds began to sing, and Cato

<sup>54</sup> Yet this very Dialogue condemns suicide in the strongest terms, and enjoins the philosopher not to think of deserting the post, in which he has been stationed by Providence. Cicero's argument upon the subject (*Tusc. Quæst. i. 30.*) with regard to Plato's *justa causa moriendi* (the command of the Deity, as implied in certain circumstances) would indeed wholly destroy the object of the Dialogue, as every one would readily magnify his petty dissatisfactions into intolerable suffering.

It is impossible to read this minute detail, without being reminded of our own Cato's

‘It must be so,’ &c.

fell again into a little slumber. Butas on his return told him, that all was quiet in the harbour; upon which Cato ordered him to shut the door, having first stretched himself on the bed, as if he designed to sleep out the rest of the night. But after Butas was gone, he drew his sword, and stabbed himself under the breast. He could not however strike hard enough, on account of the inflammation in his hand, and he did not therefore instantly expire, but in the struggle with death fell from the bed, and threw down a little geometrical table that stood by.

This noise alarming the servants, they cried out, and his son and his friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels fallen out; but he was still alive, and turned his eyes upon them. They were struck with inexpressible horror. The physician approached to examine the wound, and finding the bowels uninjured he replaced them, and began to sew up the wound. But as soon as Cato came a little to himself, he thrust away the physician, tore open the wound, plucked out his bowels again, and immediately expired.

In less time than one would think all the family could have been informed of this sad event, the three hundred were at the door; and a little while afterward all the people of Utica thronged about it, with one voice calling him "their benefactor, their saviour, "the only free and unconquered of men." This they did, though at the same time they had intelligence that Cæsar was approaching. Neither fear, nor flattery toward the conqueror, nor the factious disputes which prevailed among themselves, could divert them from doing honour to Cato. They adorned the body in a magnificent manner, and after a splendid procession buried it near the sea; where his statue now stands, with a sword in the right hand.

This great business finished, they began to take measures for saving themselves and their city. Cæsar had been informed, by persons who went to surrender



themselves, that Cato remained in Utica without any thoughts of flight; that he had provided for the escape of others indeed, but that he himself with his friends and his son continued there without any appearance of fear or apprehension. Upon these circumstances, he could form no probable conjecture. As it was an object with him, however, to get him into his hands, he made all possible haste with his army to the place. And when he received intelligence of his death, he is reported to have uttered this short sentence; "Cato, I envy thee thy death, " since thou couldst envy me the glory of saving " thy life." If Cato indeed had designed to owe his life to Cæsar, he would not so much have tarnished his own honour, as have added to that of the conqueror. What might have been the event, is uncertain; but in all probability, Cæsar would have inclined to the side of mercy.

Cato died at the age of forty-eight. His son suffered nothing from Cæsar; but he was rather immoral, it is said, and incurred some censure for his conduct with respect to women. In Cappadocia he lodged at the house of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a very handsome wife; and, as he stayed there longer than decency could warrant, such jokes as these were passed upon him: "Cato goes " the morrow after the thirtieth day of the month." "Porcius and Marphadates are two friends, who " have but one Soul;" for the wife of Marphadates was named Psyche [which signifies 'soul.']. "Cato " is a great and generous man, and has a royal Soul." By his death, however, he wiped off all aspersions; for fighting at Philippi against Octavius Cæsar and Antony, in the cause of liberty, after his party gave way, he disdained to fly. Instead of slipping out of the action, he challenged the enemy to try their strength with Cato, animated such of his troops as had stood their ground, and fell, by the acknowledgement of his adversaries, a prodigy of valour.

Cato's daughter was much more admired for her

virtues. She was not inferior to her father, either in prudence or in fortitude ; for being married to Brutus, who killed Cæsar, she was entrusted with the secret of the conspiracy, and as we have related in Brutus' Life, put a period to her existence in a manner worthy of her birth and of her character.

As for Statyllius, who promised to imitate the conduct of Cato, he would have despatched himself soon after him, but he was prevented by the philosophers. He subsequently approved himself to Brutus a faithful and able officer, and was slain in the battle of Philippi.

## PHOCION AND CATO THE YOUNGER

### COMPARED.†

OF all the illustrious men, whom we have compared together, Phocion and Cato the Younger appear to supply the most exact parallel. Their excellences as men, as warriors, and as statesmen, are almost precisely alike. With similar combinations of austerity and softness, of valour and prudence, of anxiety for others and neglect of themselves, they both united an extreme horror of every thing disgraceful, an unchangeable love of justice, and a complete devotion to the cause of their country. Both well educated, and enured in early life to habits of sobriety and fortitude, which enabled them to brave the rigour of the coldest climates and the toils of the most perilous warfare, they preserved them unimpaired till death. Phocion was at first the pupil of Plato, and subsequently of Xenocrates, the most virtuous of the Grecian philosophers. Cato in his orphanship was instructed by an enlightened man, who paid particular attention to the cultivation of his heart. He was tardy in his perception,

but tenacious in his retention; and even his tardiness arose chiefly from his reluctance to receive any information, without a full conviction of it's truth.

The sects however, to which they respectively attached themselves, were of a totally different description. Phocion from the soft-spring of the Academy drank that mild and moderate philosophy, which Socrates had first recommended, as the surest stimulus of moral virtue. In the hardness of Stoicism, Cato found something more analogous to what we may almost call the inflexibility of his natural character. What indeed must have been his ardour in behalf of that sect, when we see him incurring the trouble of a journey to Asia, for the sole purpose of bringing back with him the stoic Athenodorus? To this difference of schools we may safely refer Phocion's superior gentleness of behaviour. Not that Cato, with all his rigour of principle, wanted feeling: His strong affection for his brother, and his deep concern at his death, with the tender interest which he displayed about his friends even to his last moments, abundantly evince the contrary. In this respect indeed he is not inferior to Phocion himself, whose devoted regard for Chabrias (his tutor in the art of war) and to his son after him, is so justly an object of our admiration.

Both Phocion and Cato lived at periods, when their respective commonwealths retained only the shadow of their ancient glory. Athens by her arrogance had lost the ascendancy over Greece, which she had acquired by her heroic resistance to the Persians, and was now engaged in that death-blow to her independence, the Peloponnesian war. Pericles too had accelerated her ruin, by augmenting the influence of the people at the expense of the senate, and thus giving rise to a swarm of factious demagogues, who were always at the service of the highest bidder. The same corruption, consequent upon the same profligacy, Cato had to encounter in Rome. Ambition and avarice were grasping at all the offices of the state,

and the road to public honours was only open to cabal and intrigue. The sage institutions of their ancestors were trampled upon with impunity; and, if now and then a patriot endeavoured to revive their energy, he invariably failed in the attempt.

Against the contagious example of his fellow-citizens Phocion was armed by his virtue. It seemed indeed as if he had been sent by heaven at that critical period, to stem the torrent of vice, which was hurrying Athens to her destruction. Unlike his contemporaries, who limited themselves exclusively to the Forum or to the field, he determined like Solon, Aristides, and Pericles, to pursue distinction in both: and accordingly, though his military renown set him above all the generals of his age, he paid unremitting attention to civil affairs; in order to resist with greater efficacy the traitorous orators, who affected to retain them at their own disposal. His eloquence, in conformity to his character, was nervous and energetic; marked rather by lofty sentiment than elaborate expression, and so powerfully argumentative, as to excite alarm in the breast even of Demosthenes himself. In his political measures, whether he triumphed or miscarried, he was still unshaken. Neither elated by victory, nor dejected by defeat, he appeared, like the Antæus of ancient fable, to rise invigorated by depression. Yet, with this inflexible firmness in the cause of his country, his mildness and his humanity were unalterable: and far from cherishing any unkind feelings toward those, by whom he had been most vehemently opposed, he was frequently seen in their adversity to offer them consolation and support.

Cato, upon his engaging in public life, exhibited a rigid attention to the laws and usages of Rome. He withheld from the army all illegal rewards: as quæstor, he revived the primitive severity of that important office: He made a point of attending the senate upon every occasion, to watch over the machinations of faction; and after having previously

refused to sue for the tribuneship, as soon as he learned that Metellus (one of Pompey's creatures) was soliciting the appointment, he instantly became a candidate, for the purpose of thwarting that chief-tain's ambitious designs. His name was even identified with that of honesty : and such was the influence of his character that, in the affair of Catiline, he entirely counteracted the effect of Cæsar's artful harangue<sup>35</sup>. Intrepid in whatever respected his country, he resisted with effect a pernicious motion made by Metellus in Pompey's favour, though surrounded by the furious satellites of that tribune ; and withstood alike the menaces and the caresses of the first triumvirate, before which Rome herself gave way without a struggle. His disinterestedness he evinced by the immense wealth which he brought from Cyprus, and lodged without deduction in the public treasury, and by declining the illegal privileges voted to him by a grateful senate.

This virtue indeed, the touchstone of great souls, is not less observable in the character of Phocion, who constantly rejected the munificent presents of Alexander, at the risk of incurring his dangerous resentment ; and at last, after a life of confidential intercourse with princes, died in a condition of honourable poverty. His reputation, as a statesman and a warrior, was the fruit of his talents : to his virtues he owed the sweeter enjoyments of domestic happiness ; as he was married to a wife worthy of himself, and not less esteemed than her husband for her prudence, her modesty, and her simplicity. In this respect Cato was less fortunate. His two sisters were notorious for their misconduct : he was obliged to divorce his first wife, who had borne him two

<sup>35</sup> See Sall. Bell. Cat. 57., where Cato is admirably contrasted with Cæsar.

Well did Horace say,

*Cuncta ferrarum subacta,  
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.*

(Od. II. i. 24.)

children; and his second, the celebrated Marcia, did not wholly escape the suspicion of irregularity. Might it not be, that his excessive harshness of manners, untempered by the gentleness of Phocion, contributed to alienate from him his nearest connections?

In another regard Phocion had the advantage, as having more generally and for a greater length of time possessed the confidence of his countrymen. In every emergency, Athens turns to him as the only 'pilot capable of weathering the storm.' Her chief disasters arise from her rejection of his counsels; and by him alone they are corrected. But what principally marks his disinterested patriotism is that, notwithstanding all his military talents and his successes, he is generally the friend and the advocate of peace.

The virtues, likewise, of Cato won him the esteem and the confidence of Rome; and she regarded him as alone able to detect, and to defeat the projects of her guilty children. His sagacity indeed, in unveiling the secret views of Pompey and Cæsar, appears after the event perfectly prophetic: and he might by his indefatigable exertions have protracted the existence of her freedom, had she not unhappily envied, even while she admired his virtues. Still more corrupt than Athens, from some unfounded suspicions she rejected his application both for the prætorship and the consulate, and willingly stretched out her hands for the shackles prepared by the unnatural ambition of her own sons. Perhaps it would have been better, if he had abated a little of the impracticable rigour of his principles, instead of living (according to the reproach of Cicero) "in the dregs of Romulus, as if he had been a member of Plato's republic." Perhaps too it would have been better, had he accepted Pompey's proffered alliance; as it might have given him an opportunity of directing the views of that general to worthier objects, and would most probably have rescued him from the affinity of Cæsar—an affinity, eventually so fatal to

themselves, and to their common country. There are exigencies, in which the most austere morality must accommodate itself a little to circumstances; and, through attending to these, Phocion became a more valuable citizen than Cato. Without descending to flatter Antipater, he led him by his powers of conciliation to grant easier terms to the Athenians: though he suffered himself to be duped by Nicanor, in consequence of his too easy confidence; a foible, of which Cato was never the victim.

In respect to military talents and achievements, Phocion has greatly the superiority. Frequently summoned in the most honourable manner to the command of the army, and that invariably during his absence, at fourscore he is still found at it's head: nor ought it to be admitted that, notwithstanding the heavy contributions which it was often necessary for him to lay upon the allies, he so managed the matter, as never to shake their attachment to Athens. On the contrary, they opened their harbours to him without distrust, after having closed them against every other general. Neither was Cato without ability in the art of war. Among his troops he employed reason as well as authority, set them a striking example of temperance, and inspired them with the warmest attachment to his person. To the courage indeed, which he kindled in his followers, Pompey was indebted for the victory of Dyrrachium; and in Africa, where for some time after the battle of Pharsalia he kept together the shattered remains of that disastrous day, Scipio was defeated by Cæsar only in consequence of having neglected Cato's advice. Of his patriotism he gave an affecting proof, when at the very commencement of the civil war he publicly put on mourning, inflicted upon himself many painful privations, and continued in a state of depression and melancholy till his death.

Had Phocion died quietly in his bed, something would have appeared wanting to his glory. Toward the conclusion of his life, the government fell into

the hands of a profligate mob, with whom he could have neither sympathy nor interest, but must naturally be in disgrace for his very virtues. A pretext was speedily found to sacrifice him to their resentment. Charged with treason at the tribunal of a frantic populace, he preserved all his elevation of character; after some fruitless attempt to make himself heard, observes a dignified silence; and marches to the place of execution surrounded by a host of clamorous and cowardly assassins, with as much serenity as he had formerly led out their armies, amidst the grateful acclamations of his fellow-citizens to the field of victory.

Cato, who had preserved his life as long as he thought it might possibly be of service, when he saw Cæsar triumphant and the republic in the dust, determined to bury himself among her ruins. But in spite of the composure with which he first set about the fulfilment of his project, his angry expostulation with his interceding son, his violent treatment of the hesitating slave, and finally his tearing out his bowels after they had been replaced by the surgeon, gave to his catastrophe the characters of fury and despair. Whether his refusal to make or to tolerate application to Cæsar in his own behalf arose from his pride, which would not permit him to bend before a conqueror, from his conviction that all application would be ineffectual, or from his reluctance to live after so many efforts for liberty in a land of slavery, it is difficult at this period to decide.

It may be affirmed however, with regard to the deaths of these two great men, that Phocion in extreme old age, a victim to his patriotism, receiving his fate with the resignation of a sage and the firmness of a hero, presents a much finer picture than Cato in robust manhood dying by his own hand: especially as Cæsar would most probably have pardoned him, and he might in that case still have given his country the valuable example of fortitude bearing up against adversity. The spectacle of a great



man struggling with ill-fortune (a sight pronounced by an ancient writer, "worthy of a God") is undoubtedly far more interesting as well as far more useful, than that of one shrinking from the conflict by an action, which whatever may be its apparent effort, is in reality a pusillanimous desertion of an appointed post.

THE  
LIVES  
OF  
AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

SUMMARY.

- I. *Ixion a symbol of ambitious men. Danger of ambition ; exemplified in the Gracchi. Genealogy of Agis. His virtuous character. Decline of Spartan discipline. First attempts of Agis to re-establish it. He gains his mother ; but is thwarted by his colleague Leonidas. Proposes the measure to the senate, and to the people. His dispute with Leonidas ; who is impeached by Lysander, and deposed. The new Ephori restore him, and are themselves in consequence removed from their office by the two kings. Leonidas flies. Agesilaus eludes the distribution of lands. Agis marches to the assistance of the Achæans against the Ætolians. Leonidas remounts the throne. Admirable conduct of Chelonis, the wife of Cleombrotus. She follows her husband into banishment. Agis is given up to his enemies by Amphares ; and strangled in prison : His mother and grandmother undergo the same fate. Indignation of the Lacedæmonians.*
- II. *Leonidas marries his son Cleomenes to the wife of Agis' brother : Character of Cleomenes. He resolves to realise the plans of Agis. His first campaign : He defeats the Achæans. Aratus takes Mantinea. Cleomenes recalls Archedamus, the brother of Agis, who is immediately afterward assassinated by the Ephori : Gains a great victory over the Achæans ; takes along with him the most refractory Spartans, and gets the Ephori put to death. The Lacedæmonians have temples dedicated to Fear, &c. Cleomenes proposes to the people the re-establishment of Lycurgus' laws. They comply. He ravages the territory of Megalopolis. His reputation*

*among the Greeks : Frugality of his table. He defeats the Achæans, and negotiates with them. Aratus invites the Macedonians into Achæa ; treats Antigonus very ill ; and causes the negotiation with Cleomenes to be broken off. Cleomenes takes Pellene, and Argos. Lofty idea formed of the Spartans and their king. Cleonæ, Phlius, and Corinth form an alliance with him. He holds Antigonus in check at the Onæan mountains. Argos revolts ; and is retaken by Cleomenes, who is forced however to abandon it. Death of his wife Agiatis, and magnanimity of his mother Cratesiclea. He takes Megalopolis by surprise ; and offers to restore it to the inhabitants, on condition that they will become his allies. On their refusal, he gives it up to be plundered, lays waste the territories of Argos, and insultingly marches up to it's walls. Is ruined by want of money. Battle of Sellasia, which he loses through the treachery of Damoteles. He advises the Spartans to receive Antigonus, and puts to sea. Antigonus' humane behaviour at Sparta. Therycion proposes to Cleomenes, that they should destroy themselves ; but the latter regards suicide as a dastardly measure. Manner in which he is received by Ptolemy ; and subsequent change of treatment, upon the death of that prince. He demands permission for himself and his friends to return to Peloponnesus, is accused of a conspiracy, and confined. Determines to effect his escape. His success. He and his friends destroy themselves. His mother and children put to death, with the wife of Panteus. Superstition of the Egyptians, with regard to Cleomenes.*

## I. AGIS.

**I**T is not without an appearance of probability, that some think the fable of Ixion designed to represent the fate of ambitious men. Ixion took a cloud instead of Juno to his arms, and the Centaurs were the offspring of their union : the ambitious embrace honour, which is only the image of virtue ; and governed by different impulses, actuated by emulation and all the variety of passions, they produce nothing pure and genuine ; the whole issue is of a preposterous kind. The shepherds in Sophocles say of their flocks,

These still we follow, though our subject-band,  
And constantly obey their mute command.

The same may be truly affirmed of those statesmen, who govern according to the capricious and violent inclinations of the people. They become slaves, to gain the name of magistrates and rulers. As in a ship, those at the oar can see what is before them better than the pilot, and yet are often looking back to him for orders; so they, who take their measures of administration only with a view to popular applause, are called indeed the governors, but are in fact only the slaves of the people.

The complete honest statesman has no farther regard to the public opinion, than as the confidence which it gains him facilitates his designs, and crowns them with success. An ambitious young man may be allowed indeed to value himself upon his great and good actions, and to expect his portion of fame. For virtues, as Theophrastus says, when they first begin to grow in persons of that age and disposition, are cherished and strengthened by praise, and afterward increase proportionably with the love of glory. But an immoderate passion for fame in all affairs is dangerous, and in political matters destructive. For, joined to high authority, this passion drives those that are possessed with it into folly and madness, while they no longer deem that glorious which is good, but deem that good which is glorious. As Phocion therefore said to Antipater, when he desired something of him inconsistent with justice, "You cannot have Phocion both for your friend, and your flatterer\*;" this, or something like it, should be said to the multitude: "You cannot have the same man both for your governor, and your slave." For that would be to exemplify the fable of the serpent. The tail (it seems) one day quarrelled with the head, and instead of being forced always to follow, insisted that it should lead in its turn. Accordingly, it undertook the charge, and as

\* See p. 36.

it moved forward blindly, tore itself in a terrible manner; the head also unnaturally compelled to follow a guide which could neither see nor hear, suffered not a little. We observe many under the same predicament, whose object is popularity in all the steps of their administration. Attached entirely to the capricious multitude, they produce such disorders, as they can neither restrain nor rectify.

These observations on popularity were suggested to us, by considering it's effects in the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. In point of disposition, of education, and of political principles, none could exceed them; yet they were ruined not so much by an immoderate love of glory, as by a fear of disgrace, which in it's outset was far from being wrong. They had been so much obliged to the people for their favour, that they were ashamed to be behind-hand with them in marks of attention. On the contrary, by the most acceptable services they always studied to outdo the honours they received; and being still more honoured on account of those services, the affection between them and the people became at last so violent, that it forced them into a situation where it would have been in vain to say,

' Since we are wrong, 'twere shameful to persist.'

These observations will be illustrated in the course of their history.

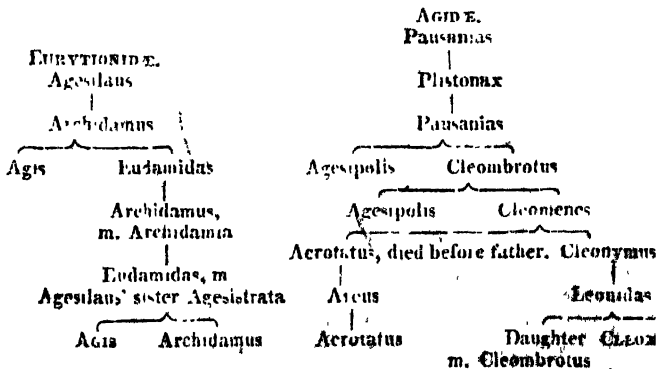
With those two Romans let us compare two Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes, who were not behind them in popularity. Like the Gracchi, they strove to enlarge the privileges of the people; and by restoring the just and glorious institutions which had long fallen into disuse, they became like them obnoxious to the great, who could not think of parting with the superiority which riches gave them, and to which they had long been accustomed. These Spartans were not indeed brothers, but their actions

were of the same kindred and complexion, the source of which was as follows :

When the love of money made it's way into Sparta, and brought avarice and meanness in it's train on one hand, and on the other, profusion and effeminacy and luxury ; the state soon deviated from it's original virtue, and sunk into contempt till the reign of Agis and Leonidas. Agis was of the family of Eurytion the son of Eudamidas, the sixth in descent from Agesilaus, distinguished by his expedition into Asia and for his eminence in Greece. Agesilaus was succeeded by his son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandonium in Italy<sup>1</sup>. Agis was the eldest son of Archidamus, and being slain at Megalopolis by Antipater, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother Eudamidas. He was succeeded by another Archidamus his son, and that prince by another Eudamidas, who was likewise his son, and the father of that Agis of whom we are now speaking.<sup>2</sup> Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of another family (the Agidæ) the eighth in that descent from that Pausanias<sup>2</sup>, who conquered Mardonius at Plataeæ. Pausanias was succeeded by his son Plistonax, and he

<sup>1</sup> We know of no such place as 'Mandonium.' We should probably read 'Mandurium,' which is a city of Japygia mentioned by the geographers. (Cellar) See also Diod. Sic. xvi. 62, 63.

<sup>2</sup> This genealogy, drawn out a little more distinctly, stands thus :



It is remarkable, that so many of the name of Agis should occur

by another Pausanias, who being banished to Tegea left his kingdom to his eldest son Agesipolis. He dying without children was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who left two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes. Agesipolis, after a short reign, died without issue; and Cleomenes, who succeeded him in the kingdom, after burying his eldest son Acrotatus, left another son Cleonymus behind him. He did not however succeed to the kingdom, but Areus, the son of Acrotatus and grandson of Cleomenes. Areus being slain at Corinth, the crown descended to his son Acrotatus, who was defeated and killed in the battle of Megalopolis by the tyrant Aristodemus. He left his wife pregnant, and as the child proved to be a son, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus took the guardianship of him, and his charge dying in his minority, the crown came to himself. This prince was not agreeable to his people. For, though the corruption was general, and they all grew daily more and more depraved, yet Leonidas was more remarkable even than the rest for his deviation from the customs of his ancestors. He had long been conversant in the courts of the Asiatic princes, particularly in that of Seleucus; and he had the indiscretion to introduce the pomp of those courts into a Grecian state, into a kingdom where the laws were the rules of government.

Agis far exceeded not only him, but almost all the kings who had reigned before him since the great Agesilaus, in goodness of disposition and dignity of mind. For though brought up in the utmost affluence, and in all the indulgence that might be expected from female tuition under his mother Agesistrata and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the richest persons in Lacedæmon, yet before he reached the age of twenty, he had declared war

in the family of the Eurytionidæ, and not one in that of the Agidæ.  
See I. III., not. (9.)

On the subject of Pausanias' banishment to Tegea, see the Life of Lysander, III. 227.\*

against pleasure; and in order to prevent any vanity, which the beauty of his person might have suggested, he discarded all unnecessary ornament and expense, and constantly appeared in a plain Lacedæmonian cloke. In his diet, his bathing, and all his exercises, he kept close to the Spartan simplicity; and he often used to say, that the crown was no farther an object of desire to him, than as it might enable him to restore the laws and the ancient discipline of his country.

The first symptoms of corruption and distemper in their commonwealth appeared at the time, when the Spartans had entirely destroyed the Athenian empire, and began to bring gold and silver into Lacedæmon. Nevertheless, the Agrarian law<sup>3</sup> established by Lycurgus still subsisting, and the lots of land descending undiminished from father to son, some relics of order and equality were yet to be found, which prevented other errors from being fatal. But Epitadeus a man of high authority in Sparta, though at the same time factious and ill-natured, being appointed one of the Ephori and having a quarrel with his son, procured a law that all men should have liberty to alienate<sup>4</sup> their estates in their life-time, or to bequeath them to whom they pleased at their death. It was to indulge his private resentment, that this man proposed the decree, which others from a motive of avarice accepted and confirmed; and thus was abrogated the best institution in the world. Men of fortune now extended their landed estates without bounds, not scrupling to exclude the right heirs; and wealth quickly coming into a few hands, the rest

<sup>3</sup> See the Life of Lycurgus, I. 122.

<sup>4</sup> It was good policy in the kings of England and France to procure laws empowering the nobility to alienate their estates, and by those means to reduce their power; for the nobility were, at that time, no better than so many petty tyrants. (L.)

Solon had enacted a similar law (called, at Sparta, ‘*rhetra*,’) but on a more limited scale; by which those, who had no legitimate male children, were enabled to bequeath their property as they pleased. See his Life, I. 249., not. (48.)\*



of the people were poor and miserable. The latter found no leisure for liberal exercises; being obliged to drudge in mean employments for their bread, and consequently looking with envy and hatred upon the rich. There remained not above seven hundred of the old Spartan families, of which perhaps one hundred had estates in land. The rest of the city was occupied by an insignificant rabble without property or honour, who had neither heart nor spirit to defend their country against wars abroad, and who were always watching an opportunity for changes and revolutions at home.

For these reasons Agis thought it a noble undertaking, as in fact it was, to restore the citizens to their pristine equality, and thus to replenish Sparta with respectable inhabitants. With this view, he sounded the inclinations of his subjects. The young men listened to him with a readiness far beyond his expectation: they adopted with him the cause of virtue, and for the sake of liberty changed their manner of living, with as little objection as they would have changed their apparel. But most of the old men, being far gone in corruption, were as much afraid of the name of Lysander, as a fugitive slave when brought back is of that of his master. They inveighed therefore against Agis for lamenting the present state of things, and desiring to renovate the ancient dignity of Sparta. On the other hand, Lysander the son of Libys, Mandroclidas the son of Ecphanes, and Agesilaus not only approved his glorious designs, but strenuously co-operated with them.

Lysander had considerable reputation and authority among the Spartans. No man understood the interests of Greece better than Mandroclidas, and with his shrewdness and capacity he had a proper mixture of spirit. As for Agesilaus, he was uncle to the king and a man of great eloquence, but at the same time effeminate and avaricious. He was animated however to this enterprise by his son Hippomedon, who had distinguished himself in many wars, and was

respectable on account of the attachment of the Spartan youth to his person. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that Agesilaus' real incentive to embark in the design, was the pressure of his debts, which he hoped to throw off by a change in the constitution.

As soon as Agis had gained him, he endeavoured with his assistance to bring his own mother into the scheme. She was sister to Agesilaus, and by her extensive connexions, her wealth, and the number of people who owed her money had great influence in Sparta, and a considerable share in the management of public affairs. On the first intimation of the thing, she was quite astonished, and earnestly dissuaded the young man from measures, which she looked upon as neither practicable nor salutary. But Agesilaus showed her that they might easily be effected, and that they would prove of the utmost utility to the state. The young prince likewise entreated his mother to sacrifice her wealth to the advancement of his glory, and to indulge his laudable ambition: "It is impossible," said he, "for me ever to vie with other kings in point of opulence. The domestics of an Asiatic grandee, nay, the servants of the stewards of Ptolemy and Seleucus, are richer than all the Spartan kings put together. But if by sobriety, by simplicity of provision for the body, and by greatness of mind, I can accomplish something which shall far exceed all their pomp and luxury, I mean the equal partition of property among all the citizens, I shall really become an illustrious prince, and have all the honour that such actions demand."

This address changed the opinions of the women. They entered into the young man's glorious views; they caught the flame of virtue as it were by inspiration, and in their turn hastened and stimulated Agis to carry his scheme into execution. They sent for their friends, and recommended the affair to

<sup>5</sup> And yet even their wealth, enormous as it was, was surpassed in after-times by that of the freedmen of the Roman Cæsars!\*

them; and they did the same to the other matrons. For they knew that the Lacedæmonians always hearken to their wives, and that the women are permitted to intermeddle more with public, than the men are with domestic concerns. This, indeed, proved the principal obstruction and difficulty in Agis' enterprise. The chief part of the wealth of Sparta was now in the hands of the women: they consequently opposed the reformation, not only because they knew they must forfeit those gratifications, in which their deviation from the severer paths of sobriety had brought them to place their happiness; but because they saw that they must also lose that honour and power, which follow property. They therefore applied to Leonidas the other king, and desired him, as the older man, to put a stop to Agis' projects.

Leonidas was inclined to serve the rich; but as he feared the people, who were extremely desirous of the change, he did not openly oppose it. He strove however in private to blast the design, by applying to the magistrates; and invidiously represented, "That Agis was offering the poor a share in the  
 " estates of the rich, as the price of absolute power;  
 " and that the distribution of lands, and the cancelling of debts, was only a scheme to purchase guards  
 " for himself, not citizens for Sparta."

But Agis having procured Lysander to be elected one of the Ephori, seized the first opportunity of proposing his rhetra to the senate; according to which,  
 " Debtors were to be released from their obligations,  
 " and lands divided in the following manner:—Those  
 " that lay between the valley of Pallene and Mount  
 " Taygetus, as far as Malea and Sellasia, were to be  
 " distributed in four thousand five hundred equal  
 " lots; fifteen thousand lots were to be made of the  
 " remaining territory, to be shared among the neighbouring inhabitants who were able to bear arms:

\* A city of Arcadia, on the borders of Laconia.\*

“ as to what lay within the limits first mentioned,  
 “ Spartans were to have the preference ; but if their  
 “ number fell short, it was to be made up from  
 “ strangers, unexceptionable in point of person, con-  
 “ dition, and education. These were to be divided  
 “ into fifteen companies<sup>7</sup>, some of four, and some  
 “ of two hundred, who were to eat together, and to  
 “ observe the discipline enjoined by the laws of Ly-  
 • “ curgus.”

The decree, being thus proposed in the senate, and the members differing in their opinions upon it, Lysander summoned an assembly of the people; in which with Mandroclidas and Agesilaus he harangued the citizens, and entreated them not to let the few insult the many, or to view with unconcern the majesty of Sparta trodden under foot. They desired them to recollect the ancient oracles, which bade them beware of the love of money, a vice the most ruinous to Sparta, as well as the late answer from the temple of Pasiphaa, which had given them the same warning. For Pasiphaa had a temple and an oracle at Thalamia<sup>8</sup>. Some say, this Pasiphaa was one of the daughters of Atlas, who had by Jupiter a

<sup>7</sup> That this passage is corrupted, the late editors of Amyot's French version contend, both because fifteen was originally the number, not of tables, but of guests at each table (See the Life of Lysurgus, I. 128.), which is here incredibly extended to two, and even four hundred; and because neither fifteen times two, nor fifteen times four hundred make up the 4500 lots in question. Perhaps we should read, as they suggest, ‘ three hundred tables of fifteen persons each.’\*

<sup>8</sup> Those who consulted this oracle lay down to sleep in the temple, and the goddess revealed to them the object of their inquiries in a dream. (L.) (Cic. De Div. i. 43., and Tertull. De Anima, 46. See also J. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. i. 4.) The oracle to the same purport was given them by Apollo,

*Spartam*

*Nullâ re aliâ, nisi avaritiâ perituram ;*

upon which Cicero justly remarks, that it was a warning not only to those to whom it was addressed, but to every wealthy community (De Off. ii. 22 ), and details the disorders, which were introduced into Sparta by that fatal passion.\*

son named Ammon. Others suppose her to be Cassandra<sup>9</sup>, the daughter of Priam, who died at that place, and might have received the name of Pasiphaa<sup>10</sup> from answering the questions of all that consulted her. But Phylarchus<sup>11</sup> affirms, she was no other than Daphne the daughter of Amyclas, who flying from the solicitations of Apollo had been metamorphosed into a laurel, and subsequently honoured by that deity with the gift of prophecy. Be that as it may, it was affirmed that her oracle had commanded all the Spartans to return to the equality, which the laws of Lycurgus originally enjoined.

Last of all, king Agis entered the assembly, and after a short speech declared, that he would contribute largely to the institution which he recommended. He would first resign to the community his own great estate, consisting of arable and pasture land and of six hundred talents in money; and next his mother and grandmother, with all his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would follow his example.

The people were astonished at the magnificence of the young man's proposal, and rejoiced that now, after the space of three hundred years, they had at last found a king worthy of Sparta. Upon this Leonidas began openly and vigorously to oppose the new regulations. He considered, that he should be obliged to do the same with his colleague, without

<sup>9</sup> Pausanias would incline one to believe, that this was the goddess Ino. 'On the road between Oetylus and Thalamia,' says he, 'is the temple of Ino. It is the custom of those who consult her to sleep in her temple, and what they want to know is revealed to them in a dream. In the court of the temple are two statues of brass, one of Paphia [it ought to be 'Pasiphaa'] the other of the Sun. That which is in the temple, is so covered with garlands and fillets, that it is not to be seen; but it is said to be of brass.' (iii. 26.)

<sup>10</sup> Δία το πασι φανει (μαρτυρα.)

Thalamia was on the gulf of Messene.

<sup>11</sup> This writer, contemporary with Agis, had composed (beside many works in mythology) a History of Greece, in twenty-eight books, from Pyrrhus' expedition into Peloponnesus to the death of Ptolemy Evergetes.\*

receiving from the people the same acknowledgements; that all indeed would be equally under a necessity of giving up their fortunes, while he who first set the example would exclusively reap the honour. He therefore demanded of Agis, "Whether or not he thought Lycurgus a just and good man?" Agis answering in the affirmative, Leonidas proceeded thus: "But did Lycurgus ever order just debts to be cancelled, or bestow the freedom of Sparta upon strangers? Was it not, on the other hand, his opinion that his commonwealth could not be in a salutary state, except strangers were entirely excluded?" Agis replied, "He was not surprised that Leonidas, who had been educated in a foreign country, and had children by an intermarriage with a Persian family, should be ignorant that Lycurgus by banishing money had banished both debts and usury from Lacedæmon. As for strangers, he excluded only those who were not likely to conform to his institutions, or fit to class with his people. For he did not dislike them merely as strangers, his exceptions were to their manners and customs; and he was afraid that, by mixing with his Spartans, they would infect them with their luxury, effeminacy, and avarice. Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes<sup>12</sup> were strangers; yet, because their poetry and philosophy moved in concert with the maxims of Lycurgus, they were held in high honour at Sparta. Even you commend Ecprepes, who when he was one of the Ephori, retrenched the two strings, which Phrynis the musician had added to the seven of the harp; you commend those who did the same by Timotheus<sup>13</sup>;

<sup>12</sup> Terpander had first introduced music into Sparta, and it had been revived there by Thales or Thaletas (not the philosopher so called) whom Lycurgus had invited to that city. Pherecydes had the glory of having been the tutor of Pythagoras, and first taught in Greece, according to Cic. (*Tusc. i. 16.*) the immortality of the soul.\*

<sup>13</sup> Timotheus, the Milesian, a celebrated Dithyrambic poet and

“and yet you complain of our intending to banish  
 “superfluity, pride, and luxury from Sparta. Do you  
 “think that, in retrenching the swelling and super-  
 “numerary graces of music, they had no farther  
 “view; and that they were not afraid the excess  
 “and disorder would reach the lives and manners of  
 “the people, and destroy the harmony of the state?”

From this time, the common people followed Agis. But the rich entreated Leonidas not to renounce their cause; and they exerted their interest so effectually with the senate, whose chief power lay in previously determining what laws should be proposed to the people, that they carried it against the rhetra by a majority of one. Lysander however, being still in office, resolved to impeach Leonidas upon an ancient law, which forbids every descendent of Hercules to have children by a stranger, and makes it capital for a Spartan to settle in a foreign country. These allegations he instructed others to adduce against Leonidas, while he with his colleagues watched for a sign from heaven. It was customary for the Ephori every ninth year, on a clear star-light night, when there was no moon, to sit down and in silence observe the heavens. If a star happened to shoot from one part of them to another, they pronounced the kings guilty of some crime against the gods, and suspended them till they were re-established by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia. Lysander, affirming that this sign had appeared to him, summoned Leonidas to his trial, and produced witnesses to prove that he had had two children by an Asiatic woman, whom one of Seleucus' lieutenants had given him to wife; but that on her conceiving a strong dislike to him, he had reluctantly returned home, and filled up the vacancy in the throne of Sparta. During this suit he persuaded Cleombrotus, Leonidas' son-

musician. He added even a twelfth string to the harp, but for this he was severely punished by the Spartans, who concluded that luxury of sound would enervate the people.

in-law and a prince of the blood, to lay claim to the crown. Leonidas, greatly terrified, fled to the altar of Minerva in the Chalciæcus<sup>14</sup> as a suppliant; and his daughter, leaving Cleombrotus, joined him in the intercession. Thence, however, he was summoned to the court of judicature; and as he did not appear, he was deposed, and the kingdom adjudged to Cleombrotus.

Soon after this revolution, Lysander's magistracy expired, and he quitted his office. The Ephori of the ensuing year listened to the supplication of Leonidas, and consented to restore him. They likewise began a prosecution against Lysander and Mandroclidas for the cancelling of debts and distribution of lands, which those magistrates had illegally sanctioned. In this danger, these two persons persuaded the kings to unite their interest, and to despise the machinations of the Ephori. "These state-officers," said they, "have no power, but what they derive from some difference between the kings. In such a case, they have a right to support with their suffrage the prince, whose measures are the more salutary, against the other; but when the kings are unanimous, nothing can over-rule their determinations. To resist them then, is to fight against the laws. For, as we said, they can only decide between the kings in case of disagreement; when their sentiments are the same, the Ephori have no right to interpose."

Convinced by this argument, the kings entered the place of assembly with their friends, where they removed the Ephori from their seats, and appointed others in their room. Of these new magistrates Agesilaus was one. They then armed a great number of the youth, and released many out of prison; upon which their adversaries were struck with terror, expecting that many lives would be lost. They d'd

<sup>14</sup> A temple of that goddess at Sparta, constructed entirely of brass. (L.) It was still in existence in Pausanias' time. (x. 5.)\*



not, however, put a single man to the sword : on the contrary, Agis understanding that Agesilaus designed to kill Leonidas in his flight to Tegea, and had planted assassins by the way for that purpose, generously sent a party of thirty men along with him, who escorted him safe to that city.

Thus the business went on with all the success which they could desire, and they had no farther opposition to encounter. But this excellent regulation, so worthy of Lacedæmon, miscarried through the failure of one of its pretended advocates, the vile disease of avarice in Agesilaus. He was possessed of a large and fine estate in land, but at the same time deeply in debt ; and as he was neither able to pay his debts nor willing to part with his land, he represented to Agis, that if both his intentions were carried jointly into execution, it would probably raise considerable commotions in Sparta ; whereas, if he first obliged the rich by the cancelling of debts, they would afterward quietly and readily consent to the distribution of lands. He drew Lysander, likewise, into the same snare. An order was therefore issued for bringing in all bonds (the Lacedæmonians call them ‘ Claria ’) and they were piled together in the market-place and burnt. When the fire began to blaze, the usurers and other creditors walked off in great distress. But Agesilaus scoffingly said, “ He never saw a brighter, or a more glorious flame.”

The common people demanded that an immediate distribution of lands should also be made, and the kings gave orders for it ; but Agesilaus found out some pretence or other for delay, till it was time for Agis to take the field in behalf of the Achæans, who were allies of the Spartans, and had applied to them for succours. For they expected, that the Ætolians would march through the territories of Megara, and enter Peloponnesus. Aratus therefore, the Achæan general, assembled an army in order to prevent it, and wrote to the Ephori for assistance.

These officers immediately despatched Agis upon

that service; and he set forward with the highest hopes, on account of the spirit of his troops and their attachment to his person. They were most of them young men in very indifferent circumstances, who being now released from their debts, and expecting a division of lands on their return from the war, strove to recommend themselves as much as possible to Agis. It was a most agreeable spectacle to the cities, to see them march through Peloponnesus without committing the least violence, and with such strictness of discipline that they were scarcely heard as they passed. The Greeks said one to another, "With what excellent order and decency must the armies under Agesilaus, Lysander, or Agesilaus of old have moved; when we find such exact obedience, such reverence in the Spartans to a general, who is perhaps the youngest man in the whole army!" This young prince's simplicity of diet indeed, his love of labour, and his affecting no show either in his dress or arms above a private soldier, made all the common people, as he passed, look upon him with pleasure and admiration: but his new regulations at Lacedæmon displeased the rich, and they were afraid that he might raise commotions every where among the commonalty, and incite them to follow the example.

After Agis had joined Aratus at Corinth, in the deliberations about meeting and fighting the enemy, he displayed a proper courage and spirit, without any enthusiastic or irrational flights. He gave it as his opinion, "That they ought to bring on an engagement, and never suffer the war to enter the gates of Peloponnesus. Still, however, he was willing to do whatever Aratus thought most expedient, because he was the older man, and general of the Achæans, whom he came not to command or to control, but to assist in the war."

It must be confessed, that Bato<sup>15</sup> of Sinope re-

<sup>15</sup> Author of a History of Persia.

Upon the whole subject of this expedition in favour of the Achæ-

lates the story in another manner. He says, Aratus was anxious to engage, and that Agis declined it. But Bato had never met with what Aratus writes, as an apology for himself upon this point. That general informs us, "That as the husbandmen had almost finished their harvest, he thought it better to let the enemy pass, than to hazard by a battle the loss of the whole country." When Aratus therefore determined not to fight, and dismissed his allies with compliments upon their readiness to serve him, Agis who had gained great honour by his behaviour, marched back to Sparta, where by this time internal troubles and changes demanded his presence.

Agesilaus, still one of the Ephori, and delivered from the pressure of debt which had weighed down his spirits, scrupled no act of injustice that might bring money into his coffers. He even added to the year a thirteenth month, though the proper period for that intercalation was not yet come, and insisted on the people's paying supernumerary taxes for that month. Being afraid however of revenge from those whom he had injured, and seeing himself hated by all the world, he thought it necessary to maintain a guard which always attended him to the senate-house. As to the kings, he expressed an utter contempt for one of them<sup>16</sup>, and the respect which he paid to the other he wished to have referred rather to his being his kinsman, than to his wearing the crown. In addition to all this, he propagated a report, that he should be one of the Ephori the year following. His enemies therefore, determined to hazard an immediate attempt against him, openly brought back Leonidas from Tegea, and placed him on the throne. This the people beheld with pleasure; for they were angry at finding themselves duped, with respect to the promised distribution of lands. Agesilaus

ans, there are considerable doubts, both from argument and testimony, of Plutarch's accuracy. See *Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, Histoire*, xiv.\*

<sup>16</sup>. Cleombrotus.\*

himself would scarcely have escaped their fury, had not his son Hippomedon, who was held in great esteem by the whole city on account of his valour, interceded for his life.

Both the kings took sanctuary, Agis in Chalciæcus, and Cleombrotus in the temple of Neptune. It was against the latter, that Leonidas was most incensed; and therefore passing Agis by, he went with a party of soldiers to seize Cleombrotus, whom he resentfully reproached with having conspired against him though his son-in-law, deprived him of the kingdom, and banished him from his country.

Cleombrotus had nothing to say in reply, but sat in the deepest distress and silence. Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, had looked upon the injury done to her father as done to herself; and therefore, when Cleombrotus robbed him of the crown, she left him, in order to console her father in his misfortune.

As long as he remained in sanctuary, she stayed with him, and when he fled, sympathising with his sorrow and full of resentment against Cleombrotus, she attended him in his flight. But, when the fortunes of her father changed, she changed too. She joined her husband, as a suppliant; and was found sitting by him with great marks of tenderness, and her two children, one on each side, at her feet. The whole company were deeply struck at the sight, and could not refrain from tears, when they considered her goodness of heart and uncommon strength of affection.

Chelonis then, pointing to her mourning habit and her dishevelled hair, thus addressed Leonidas. “It was not, my dear father, compassion for Cleombrotus, which put me in this habit, and gave me this look of misery. My sorrows took their date with your misfortunes and your banishment, and have ever since remained my familiar companions. Now you have conquered your enemies, and are again king of Sparta, should I still retain these signs of affliction, or assume festival and royal or-

"naments; while the husband of my youth, whom  
 "you yourself bestowed upon me, falls a victim to  
 "your vengeance? If his own submission, if the  
 "tears of his wife and children cannot propitiate  
 "you, he must suffer a severer punishment for his  
 "offences than even you require: he must see his  
 "beloved wife die before him. For how can I live,  
 "and support the sight of my own sex, after both  
 "my husband and my father have refused to hearken  
 "to my supplication; when it appears that, both as  
 "a wife and a daughter, I am born to be miserable  
 "with my family? If this poor man had any plausible  
 "reasons for what he did, I invalidated them all by  
 "forsaking him to follow you. But you furnish him  
 "with a sufficient apology for his misbehaviour, by  
 "showing that a crown is so bright and desirable an  
 "object, that a son-in-law must be slain and a  
 "daughter utterly disregarded, where that is in  
 "question."

Chelonis, after this supplication, rested her cheek  
 upon her husband's head, and with an eye dim and  
 languid through sorrow looked round on the specta-  
 tors. Leonidas consulted his friends upon the point,  
 and then commanded Cleombrotus to rise and go  
 into exile; but he desired Chelonis to stay, and not  
 forsake so affectionate a father, who had thus kindly  
 granted her husband's life. Chelonis, however,  
 would not be persuaded. When her husband had  
 risen from the ground, she put one child into his  
 arms, and took the other herself; and after having  
 paid due homage at the altar, where they had taken  
 sanctuary, went with him into banishment. So that,  
 had not Cleombrotus been corrupted with the love  
 of false glory, he must have thought exile with such  
 a woman a greater happiness than a kingdom without  
 her.

After Cleombrotus was thus expelled, the Ephori  
 removed, and others substituted in their place, Leo-  
 nidas laid a scheme to get Agis into his power.  
 At first he desired him to leave his sanctuary, and

resume his share in the government ; “ For the people,” he said, “ thought he might well be pardoned, as a young man ambitious of honour ; and the rather because they, as well as he, had been deceived by the craft of Agesilaus.” But when he found that Agis suspected him, and chose to stay where he was, he threw off the mask of kindness. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus used to spend much time with Agis, as being his intimate friends. They likewise conducted him from the temple to the bath, and after he had bathed, brought him back to the sanctuary. Amphares had lately borrowed an immense quantity of plate and other rich furniture from Agesistrata, and he hoped that if he could destroy the king and the princesses of his family, he might keep those goods as his own. Upon this account, he is said to have first listened to the suggestions of Leonidas, and to have endeavoured to bring the Ephori, his colleagues, to do the same.

As Agis however confined himself wholly to the temple, with the exception of an occasional visit to the bath, they resolved to make use of that opportunity. One day, therefore, upon his return they met him with a great appearance of friendship, and as they conducted him on his way, conversed with much freedom and gayety, which his youth and their intimacy with him seemed to warrant. But, when they came to the turning of a street which led to the prison, Amphares by virtue of his office arrested him : “ I take you into custody, Agis,” said he, “ in order to your giving an account to the Ephori of your administration.” At the same time Demochares, who was a tall strong man, wrapped his cloke about his head, and dragged him off. The rest, as they had previously concerted the thing, pushed him on behind ; and, no one advancing to his rescue or assistance, he was committed to prison.

Leonidas presently came, with a strong band of mercenaries, to secure the prison without ; and the Ephori entered it, with such senators as were of their

party. They began, as in a judicial process, with demanding what he had to say in defence of his proceedings; and, as the young prince only laughed at their dissimulation, Amphares told him, "They would soon make him weep for his presumption." Another of the Ephori, seeming inclined to put him in a way of excusing and clearing himself, asked him, "Whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not forced him into those measures?" But Agis answered, "I was forced by no man; it was my attachment to the institutions of Lycurgus, and my desire to imitate him, which made me adopt his form of government." The same magistrate then demanded, "Whether he repented of what he had done?" To which he replied, "I shall never repent of so glorious a design, though I see death before my eyes." Upon this, they passed sentence of death upon him, and commanded the officers to carry him into the Decas, which is a small apartment in the prison, where they strangle malefactors. But the officers durst not touch him, and the very mercenaries declined it; as deeming it impious to lay violent hands upon a king<sup>17</sup>. Demochares, observing this, loaded them with reproaches, and threatened to punish them. At the same time, he laid hold on Agis himself, and thrust him into the dungeon.

By this time it was generally known that Agis was taken into custody, and there was a great concourse of people at the prison-gates, with lanthorns and torches. Among the numbers, who resented these proceedings, were the mother and grandmother of Agis, crying out and imploring that the king might be heard and judged by the people in full assembly.

<sup>17</sup> Thinking with our Shakspeare,

There's such divinity doth hedge a king,

That treason can but peep to what it would,

Acts little of his will.

(Hamlet iv. 5.)

See also 1 Sam. xxiv. 5, 6.

It seems probable that for 'Decas' above, we should read 'Cear,' the name of the prison at Sparta.\*

But this, instead of procuring him a respite, hastened his execution, for they were afraid he would be rescued in the night, if the tumult should increase.

As Agis was going to execution, he perceived one of the officers lamenting his fate with tears, upon which he said, "My friend, dry up your tears; for, as I suffer innocently, I am in a better condition than those who condemn me unjustly." So saying, he cheerfully offered his neck to the executioner<sup>18</sup>.

Amphares then going to the gate, Agesistrata threw herself at his feet, on account of their long intimacy and friendship. He raised her from the ground and told her, "Her son should suffer no farther violence or injury." He added likewise, she might go in and see him, if she pleased. She desired that her mother might be admitted with her, and Amphares assured her there would be no objection. When he had let them in, he commanded the gates to be again locked, and Archidamia to be first introduced. She was very old, and had lived in high honour and esteem among the Spartans. After she was put to death, he ordered Agesistrata to walk in. She did so, and beheld her son extended on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck. She assisted the officers in taking Archidamia down, placed the body by that of Agis, and wrapped it decently up. Then embracing her son and kissing him, she said, "My son, thy too great moderation, lenity, and humanity have ruined both thyself and us." Amphares, who from the door observed and heard all that passed, went up in the utmost fury to Agesistrata, and cried out; "If you approved your son's actions, you shall also have his reward." She rose up to meet her fate, and said, with a sigh for her country, "May all this be for the good of Sparta!"

<sup>18</sup> According to Pausan. viii. 10., Agis fell in an expedition against Megalopolis; but Plutarch's is the more generally received account, which places his death B. C. 241.\*



When these events were reported in the city, and the three corpses were carried out, the terror which the sad scene inspired was not so great, but that the people openly expressed their grief and indignation, and their hatred of Leonidas and Amphares. For they were persuaded, that there had not been such a train of villainous and impious actions at Sparta, since the Dorians first inhabited Peloponnesus.

The majesty of the kings of Sparta had been held in such veneration by their very enemies, that they had scrupled to strike them, even when they had an opportunity of doing so in battle. Hence it was that, in the many actions between the Lacedæmonians and the other Greeks, the former had lost only their king Cleombrotus (I.), who fell by a javelin, at the battle of Leuctra a little before the time of Philip of Macedon. As for Theopompus, who (as the Messenians affirm) was slain by Aristomenes, the Lacedæmonians deny it, and say he was only wounded. That, however, is a matter of some dispute: but it is certain, that Agis was the first king of Lacedæmon put to death by the Ephori; and that he suffered only for having engaged in an enterprise eminently glorious and truly worthy of Sparta; though he was of an age, at which even errors are considered as pardonable. His friends indeed had more reason to complain of him, than his enemies, for having saved Leonidas, and trusted his associates, in the unsuspecting generosity and goodness of his heart.

## II. CLEOMENES.

**AFTER** Agis was put to death, Leonidas intended the same fate for his brother Archidamus; but that prince saved himself by a timely retreat. His wife Agiatis however, who had been newly brought to bed, was forced by the tyrant from her own house, and given to his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was

not yet quite come to years of maturity, but his father was unwilling that any other man should marry her ; as she was the daughter of Gylippus, and heiress to his large estate, and in beauty, as well as happiness of temper and conduct, surpassed all the women of Greece. She left nothing unattempted, to prevent her being forced into this match, but all her efforts proved ineffectual. When she was married therefore to Cleomenes, she made him a good and affectionate wife, though she hated his father. Cleomenes was passionately fond of her from the first, and his attachment to his wife made him sympathise with her on the mournful remembrance of Agis. He would often ask her for the history of that unfortunate prince, and listen with deep attention to her account of his sentiments and his designs.

Cleomenes was ambitious of glory, and had a native greatness of mind. Nature had moreover disposed him to temperance and simplicity of manners, equally with Agis ; but he had not his calmness and moderation. His spirit had an ardour in it ; and there was an impetuosity in his pursuits of honour, or whatever appeared to him under that character. He held it most glorious, indeed, to reign over a willing people ; but, at the same time, he held it not inglorious to subdue their reluctances, and bring them even against their inclinations into the adoption of salutary measures.

With the prevailing manners and customs of Sparta he was dissatisfied. He saw, that ease and pleasure were the chief objects with the people ; that the king paid but little regard to public concerns, and if nobody gave him any disturbance, chose to spend his time in the enjoyments of affluence and luxury ; and that individuals, entirely actuated by self-interest, concerned themselves no farther in the business of the state than they could turn it to their own emolument. And what rendered the prospect still more melancholy, it appeared dangerous to make any mention of training the youth to strong exercises and

strict temperance, to persevering fortitude and universal equality, since the proposing of these things had cost Agis his life.

It is said likewise, that Cleomenes had been instructed in philosophy at a very early period of life by Sphærus the Borysthenite<sup>1</sup>, who came to Lacedæmon, and taught the youth with great diligence and success. Sphærus was one of the principal disciples of Zeno the Citiean<sup>2</sup>; and it seems that he admired the strength of genius, which he found in Cleomenes, and added fresh incentives to his love of glory. We are informed that, when Leonidas of old was asked, "What he thought of the poetry of 'Tyrtaeus,'" he replied, "I think it well calculated to excite the courage of our youth: for the enthusiasm, with which it inspires them, makes them fear no danger in battle." So the Stoic philosophy<sup>3</sup> may put persons of lofty and fiery spirits upon enterprises too desperate; but, in those of a grave and mild disposition, it will produce all the good effects for which it was designed.

When Leonidas died, and Cleomenes came to the crown, he observed that all ranks of men were utterly corrupted. The rich had an eye only to private profit and pleasure, and entirely neglected the public interest. The common people, on account of the meanness of their circumstances, had no spirit for war, no ambition to instruct their children in the Spartan exercises. Cleomenes himself possessed only

<sup>1</sup> Sphærus was born toward the end of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and flourished under that of Euergetes. Diogenes Laertius (vii. 177.) has given us a catalogue of his works, which were considerable. He was first the scholar of Zeno, and afterward of Cleanthes.

<sup>2</sup> The Borysthenes, *hæd.* the Nieper, falls into the Black Sea.

<sup>3</sup> He was so called, to distinguish him from Zeno of Elea, a city of Laconia, who flourished about two hundred years after the death of Zeno the Citiean. Citium, of which the elder Zeno was a native, was a town of Cyprus.

<sup>3</sup> From its tendency to inspire a contempt of death, and a belief in the agency of Providence.

the name of king, while the power was in the hands of the Ephori. He, therefore, soon began to think of changing the present posture of affairs. He had a friend called Xenares, united to him by such an affection as the Spartans called ‘inspiration.’ Him he first sounded; inquiring of him, what kind of a prince Agis was, and by what steps and with what associates he came into the way, which he subsequently pursued. Xenares at first consented readily enough to satisfy his curiosity, and gave him an exact narrative of all the proceedings. But when he found that Cleomenes interested himself deeply in the affair, and took such an enthusiastic pleasure in the new schemes of Agis, as to desire to hear them again and again, he reproved his distempered inclinations, and at last entirely left his company. He did not however, acquaint any one with the cause of their misunderstanding; but only said, “Cleomenes knew very well.” As Xenares so strongly opposed the king’s project, he thought others must be as little disposed to come into it; and he therefore concerted the whole matter by himself. Under the persuasion, that he could more easily effect his intended change in the time of war than in that of peace, he embroiled his country with the Achæans, who had indeed given sufficient occasion of complaint. For Aratus, their great leader, had laid it down as a principle, from the beginning of his administration, to reduce all Peloponnesus into one body. This was the end, which he had in view in his numerous expeditions, and in all his proceedings during the many years of his administration. This, indeed, he was of opinion was the only way to secure that peninsula against its foreign enemies. He had already succeeded with most of its states; the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, and such of the Arcadians as were in the Lacedæmonian interest, being all that stood out. And upon Leonidas’ death, he commenced hostilities against the Arcadians, particularly those who bordered upon the Achæans, designing thus to try how the Lacedæ-

dæmonians stood inclined. As for Cleomenes, he despised him as an inexperienced young man.

The Ephori, however, sent Cleomenes to seize Athenæum<sup>4</sup> near Belbina. This place is one of the keys of Laconia, and was then in dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans. Cleomenes, accordingly, took and fortified it. Aratus, not making any remonstrance, marched by night to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. But the persons who had promised to betray those places to him, found their hearts fail them, when they came to the point; and he retired, as he thought, undiscovered. Upon this, Cleomenes wrote to him in a familiar way, desiring to know, "Whither he had marched the night before?" Aratus answered, "That understanding his intention of fortifying Belbina, he had intended by his last motion to prevent that measure." Cleomenes humorously replied, "I am satisfied with the account, which you give of your march; but should be glad to know, why those torches and ladders were marching along with you."

Aratus could not help laughing at the jest; and inquired what kind of man this young prince was. Upon which Democrates, a Lacedæmonian exile, replied, "If you design to do any thing against the Spartans, you must do it quickly, before the spurs of this cockrel be grown."

Cleomenes, with a few horse and three hundred foot, was now posted in Arcadia. The Ephori, apprehensive of a war, commanded him home; and he obeyed. But, finding that in consequence of this retreat Aratus had seized Caphyæ, they ordered him again to take the field. Cleomenes made himself master of Methydrium, and ravaged the territories of Argos. Upon which the Achæans marched against

\* A temple of Minerva. Belbina is variously written. See Pausan. viii. 35. Polybius, a name of great weight in history, in his account of this quarrel, makes Cleomenes decidedly the aggressor. He asserts likewise, that Archidamus fled from Sparta during Cleomenes' reign, and was put to death by his direction. See below.

him with twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes met him at Palantium, and offered him battle. But Aratus, intimidated by this instance of the young prince's spirit, dissuaded the general from engaging, and retreated. This retreat exposed Aratus to reproach among the Achæans, and to scorn and contempt among the Spartans, whose army consisted of not more than five thousand men. Cleomenes, elevated with this success, began to talk in a higher tone among the people, and bade them remember an expression of one of their ancient kings, who said ; " The Lacedæmonians inquired not usually about the number of their enemies, but about the place where they were to be found."

After this, he went to the assistance of the Eleans, against whom the Achæans had now turned their arms ; attacked the latter at Lycæum, as they were upon the retreat, and put them entirely to the rout ; not only spreading terror through their whole army, but killing great numbers, and making many prisoners. It was even reported among the Greeks, that Aratus was in the number of the slain. Aratus, availing himself in the best manner of the opportunity, marched immediately to Mantinea, and coming upon it by surprise took it, and secured it for the Achæans.

The Lacedæmonians, deeply affected by this loss, opposed Cleomenes in his inclination for war. He therefore bethought himself of recalling from Messene Agis' brother Archidamus, to whom, in the other family, the crown belonged ; imagining that the power of the Ephori would be less formidable, when the kingly government was constitutionally complete, and had it's proper weight in the scale. The party which had put Agis to death perceiving this, and dreading vengeance from Archidamus, if he should be established upon the throne, took the following method to prevent it : They joined in inviting him to come privately to Sparta, and even assisted him

in his return ; but they assassinated him immediately afterward. Whether it was against the consent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus supposes, or his friends had persuaded him to abandon that unhappy prince, we cannot decide. The chief part of the blame however fell upon those friends, who if he gave his consent, were supposed to have teased him into it.

By this time, he was resolved to carry his intended changes into immediate execution ; and he therefore bribed the Ephori to permit him to renew the war. He gained over also many others by the assistance of his mother Cratesiclea, who liberally supplied him with money, and joined in his schemes of glory. Nay, it is said that, though disinclined to marry again, for her son's sake she accepted a man, Megistoneüs, who had considerable interest and authority among the people.

One of his first operations was, the going to seize Leuctra<sup>5</sup>, a place within the dependencies of Megalopolis. The Achæans, under the command of Aratus, hastened to it's relief ; and a battle was fought near the walls, in which part of the Lacedæmonian army was beaten. But Aratus stopping the pursuit at a defile which was in the way, Lysiad<sup>6</sup> the Megalopolitan, offended at the order, encouraged the cavalry about him to pursue their advantage ; by which means he entangled them among vineyards, ditches, and other enclosures, where they were forced to break their ranks, and fell into the utmost disorder. Cleomenes, observing his opportunity, commanded the Tarentines and Cretans to fall upon them ; and Lysiad<sup>6</sup>, after great exertions of valour, was defeated and slain. The Lacedæmonians, thus encouraged, returned to the action with shouts of joy, and routed

<sup>5</sup> By Polybius called Laodicea. This place must not be confounded with the Leuctra of Bæotia, where Epaminondas gained his great victory.\*

<sup>6</sup> In the text it is 'Lydiadas.' But Polybius calls him 'Lysiad<sup>6</sup>:' and so elsewhere does Plutarch. Pausanias (viii. 27) says he did not fall till some years afterward, when Cleomenes took Megalopolis.

the whole Achæan army. After a considerable carnage, a truce was granted to the survivors, and they were permitted to bury their dead ; but Cleomenes ordered the body of Lysiadas to be brought to him. He then clothed it in robes of purple, and put a crown upon its head ; and, in this attire, sent it to the gates of Megalopolis. This was the Lysiadas, who restored liberty to that city, in which he was an absolute prince, and united it to the Achæan league.

Cleomenes, highly elated with this victory, thought if matters were once entirely at his disposal in Sparta, the Achæans would no longer be able to stand before him. For this reason he endeavoured to convince his father-in-law Megistoneus, that the yoke of the Ephori ought to be broken, and an equal division of property made ; by which Sparta would be enabled to resume her ancient valour, and once more rise to the empire of Greece. Megistoneus assented, and the king then admitted two or three other friends into the scheme.

About that time, one of the Ephori, as he slept in the temple of Pasiphaa<sup>7</sup>, had a most remarkable dream. He thought that, in the court where the Ephori used to sit for the despatch of business, four chairs were taken away, and only one left. And as he was wondering at the change, he heard a voice from the sanctuary announce, " This is best for Sparta." This vision he reported to Cleomenes, who at first was much disconcerted, fearing that some suspicion had led him to sound his intentions. But when he found that there was no fiction in the case, he was the more confirmed in his purpose ; and taking with him such of the citizens as he thought most likely to oppose it, he marched against Heræa and Alsæa, two cities [of Arcadia] belonging to the Achæan league, and took them. After this he laid in a store of provisions at Orchomenus, and then besieged Mantinea. At last he so harassed the Lacc-

<sup>7</sup> See p. 141., not, (8.)



dæmonians by a variety of long marches, that most of them desired to be left in Arcadia; and he returned to Sparta with only the mercenaries. By the way he communicated his design to such of them, as he believed most attached to his interest, and advanced slowly, that he might come upon the Ephori while they were at supper.

When he approached the town, he sent Euryclidas before him to the hall where those magistrates used to sup, upon pretence of his being charged with some message relative to the army. He was accompanied by Thericion and Phœbis, and two other young men who had been educated with Cleomenes, and whom the Spartans call ‘Samothracians.’ These were at the head of a small party. While Euryclidas was holding the Ephori in discourse, the others ran upon them with their drawn swords, and slew them all except Agesilaus, who was likewise thought to have shared the same fate, for he was the first man that fell; but in a little time he conveyed himself silently out of the room, and crept into a small building, which was the temple of Fear. This temple was generally shut, but at that time happened to be open. As soon as he was within, he immediately barred the door. The other four were despatched outright; and so were above ten more, who came to their assistance. Those, that remained quiet, received no harm; nor were any prevented from departing the city. Nay, Agesilaus himself was spared, when he ventured the next day out of the temple.

The Lacedæmonians have not only temples dedi-

\* All the commentators agree, that *Σαμοθρακι* is a corruption. Pausanias proposes to read *Πυθιας*, ‘Pythians.’ Thus the Spartans called two persons, whom the king employed to consult the oracle of Apollo, and who used to eat at the king’s table. But *Πυθιας* is very distant in sound from *Σαμοθρακι*. The editor of the former English translation proposes, by no means unhappily, to read *ἀμφοτέρω*, which is synonymous to *συντροφεύς*. Proper regard ought to be paid likewise to the conjecture of Bryan and Du Soul, who offer us *Σαμνοτροπας*. This signifies ‘persons who give the signal of battle, prefects, generals.’

cated to Fear, but also to Death, to Laughter, and to many of the passions. Neither do they pay homage to Fear, as one of the noxious and destroying dæmons, but they consider it as the best cement of society. Hence it was, that the Ephori (as Aristotle informs us) when they entered upon their office, caused proclamation to be made that the people should shave their upper lip, and be obedient to the laws, that they might not be under the necessity of having recourse to severity. As for the shaving of the upper lip, all the design of that injunction, in my opinion, is to teach the youth obedience in the smallest matters. And the ancients seem to me to have thought that valour consists, not in being exempt from *fear*, but on the contrary, in feeling a *fear* of reproach and a dread of infamy. For those, who stand most in apprehension of the law, act with the greatest intrepidity against the enemy; and they, who are most tender of their reputation, look with the least concern upon other dangers. One of the poets has therefore well pronounced,

—Ingenuous shame resides with *fear*.

Hence Homer makes Helen say to her father-in-law, Priam,

Before thy presence, father, I appear  
With conscious shame and reverential *fear*°.

And in another place he remarks, the Grecian troops

With *fear* and silence on their chiefs attend.

For reverence, in vulgar minds, is generally the concomitant of *fear*. And therefore the Lacedæmonians placed the temple of Fear near the hall where

° Pope, II. iii. 172. The following quotation is from the same book, v. 431.\*

the Ephori used to eat, in order to show that their authority was nearly equal to the regal.

Next day, Cleomenes proscribed eighty of the citizens, whom he thought it necessary to expel; and removed all the seats of the Ephori except one, in which he designed to sit himself, to hear causes and despatch other business. He then assembled the people, in order to explain and defend what he had done. His speech was to this effect: "The administration was placed by Lycurgus in the hands of the kings and the senate; and by them Sparta was a long time governed, without any occasion for other magistrates. But as the Messenian war was protracted to a great length, and the kings having the armies to command had not leisure to attend to the decision of causes at home, they pitched upon some of their friends to be left as their deputies for that purpose, under the title of Ephori or Inspectors. These at first behaved as substitutes and servants to the kings; but by little and little they got the power into their own hands, and insensibly erected their office into an independent magistracy<sup>10</sup>. A proof of this is a custom still remaining, that when the Ephori send for the king, he refuses to hearken to the first and second message, and does not attend them till they send a third. Asteropus was the first of the Ephori, who many ages after their creation raised their office to that height of authority. While they kept within the bounds of moderation, it was better to endure, than to remove them; but when by their usurpations they destroyed the ancient form of government, when they deposed some kings, put others to death without any form of trial, and threatened those princes who were solicitous to see the divine

<sup>10</sup> When the authority of the kings was grown too enormous, Theopompus found it necessary to curb it by the institution of the Ephori. But they were not, as Cleomenes says, at their first establishment 'substitutes and servants to the kings.' See the Life of Lycurgus, I. 121., not. (23.)

" constitution of their country in it's primitive lus-  
 " tre, they became absolutely insupportable. Had  
 " it been possible, without the shedding of blood, to  
 " have exterminated those pests, which they had in-  
 " troduced into Lacedæmon; such as luxury, super-  
 " fluous expense, debts, usury, and those still older  
 " evils, poverty and riches; I should then have  
 " thought myself the happiest of kings. In curing  
 " the distempers of my country, I should have been  
 " considered as the physician, whose lenient hand  
 " heals, without giving pain. But, for what neces-  
 " sity has obliged me to do, I have the authority of  
 " Lycurgus; who though neither king nor magis-  
 " trate, but only a private man, took upon him to  
 " act as a king <sup>11</sup>, and appeared publicly in arms. The  
 " consequence of which was that Charilaus, the  
 " reigning prince, fled in consternation to the altar.  
 " But, being a mild and patriotic king, he soon en-  
 " tered into Lycurgus' designs, and accepted his  
 " new form of government. These proceedings then  
 " of your great legislator are an evidence, that it is  
 " next to impossible to new-model a constitution  
 " without the terror of an armed force. For my own  
 " part, I have applied that remedy with the utmost  
 " moderation; only ridding myself of such as op-  
 " posed the true interest of Lacedæmon. Among  
 " the rest I shall make a distribution of all the lands,  
 " and clear the people of their debts. From the  
 " strangers I shall carefully select some of the best  
 " and ablest, that they may be admitted citizens of  
 " Sparta, and protect her with their arms; and that  
 " we may no longer see Laconia a prey to the Æto-  
 " lians and Illyrians, from the want of a sufficient  
 " number of inhabitants interested in it's defence."

When he had finished his speech, he was the first  
 to surrender his own estate into the public stock.  
 His father-in-law Megistonoüs, and his other friends,

<sup>11</sup> Lycurgus never assumed or aspired to regal authority, and  
 Cleomenes mentions this, only to take off the odium from himself.  
 See his Life.

followed his example. The rest of the citizens did the same; and then the land was divided. He even assigned lots for each of the persons, whom he had driven into exile; and declared that they should all be recalled, when tranquillity had once more taken place. Having filled up the number of citizens out of the best of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, he raised a body of four thousand foot, whom he taught to use the two-handed pike instead of the javelin, and to hold their shields by a handle, and not as before by a ring. He then applied himself to the education of the youth, and formed them with all the strictness of the Lacedæmonian discipline; in the course of which, he was much assisted by Sphærus. Their schools of exercise, and their refectories, were soon brought into their ancient order; some being reduced to it by compulsion, but the chief part coming voluntarily into the noble training peculiar to Sparta. To prevent any offence however, that might be taken at the name of monarchy [or single sovereignty], he made his brother Euclidas his partner in the throne; and this was the only time, that the Spartans had two kings of the same family.

The Achæans and Aratus, he observed, were persuaded that the late change had brought the Spartan affairs into a doubtful and unsettled state; and that he would not dare to quit the city, while it was in such a ferment. He therefore thought it would have both its honour and utility, to show the enemy how readily his troops would obey him. In consequence of which he entered the Megalopolitan territories, where he spread desolation, and made a very considerable booty. In one of his last marches, he seized a company of comedians who were on the road from Messene, built a stage in the enemy's country, proposed a prize of forty minæ to the best performer, and spent a whole day in seeing them. Not that he set any great value upon such diversions, but he did it as an insult to the enemy, in order to evince his

superiority by this mark of contempt. For, among the Grecian and royal armies, his was the only one which had not a train of players, jugglers, singers, and dancers of both sexes. No intemperance or buffoonery, no public shows or feasts, except on the late occasion, were ever seen in his camp. The young men passed the principal part of their time in the exercises, and the old men in teaching them. Their hours of leisure were diverted with cheerful discourse, which had all the smartness of Laconic repartee. This kind of amusement had those advantages, which we have mentioned in the Life of Lycurgus.

The king himself was the best teacher. Plain and simple in his equipage and diet, assuming no kind of pomp above a common citizen, he set a glorious example of sobriety. This was no small advantage to his affairs in Greece. When the Greeks addressed themselves to other kings, they did not so much admire their wealth and magnificence, as execrate their pride and ostentation, their difficulty of access, and their harshness of behaviour to all who had business at their courts. But when they applied to Cleomenes, who not only bore the title but had all the lofty qualities of a king, they saw no purple or robes of state, no rich carriages, no mob of pages or of door-keepers to be encountered. Neither had they their answer, after great difficulties, from the mouth of secretaries<sup>12</sup>; but they found him in an ordinary habit, ready to meet them, and offer them his hand. He received them with a cheerful countenance, and entered into their business with the utmost ease and freedom. This engaging manner gained their hearts, and they declared that he was the only genuine descendant of Hercules.

His common supper was short, and truly Laconic.

<sup>12</sup> In the text it is *γραμματίων*, 'by billets;' but it should probably be read, as in the St. Germ. MS. *γραμματίων*, 'secretaries;' there being no instances in antiquity, that have come to our knowledge, of written answers to a personal application.

There were only couches for three people ; but when he entertained ambassadors or strangers, two more couches were added, and the table was a little better furnished by the servants. Not that any curious dainties or dessert were added ; only the dishes were larger, and the wine more generous. For he blamed one of his friends for having set before strangers nothing but the coarse cake and black broth, which they eat in their common refectories. “ When we “ have strangers to entertain,” said he, “ we need “ not be such very rigid Lacedæmonians.” After supper, a three-legged stand was brought in, upon which were placed a brass bowl full of wine, two silver pots that held about a pint and a half a-piece, and a few cups of the same metal. Such of the guests, as were inclined to drink, made use of these vessels, for the cup was not pressed upon any man against his will. There was no music, nor was any thing of the sort wanted : he entertained his company very agreeably with his own conversation, sometimes asking questions, and sometimes telling stories. His serious discourse was perfectly free from moroseness, and his mirth from petulance and rusticity. The arts which other princes used, of drawing men to their purpose by bribery and corruption, he looked upon as both iniquitous and impolitic. But to engage and fix people in his interest by the charms of conversation, without fraud or guile, appeared to him an honourable method, and worthy of a king. For he regarded it as the true distinction between a hireling and a friend, that the one is gained by money, and the other by obligingness of behaviour.

The Mantineans were the first, who applied for his assistance. They admitted him into their city in the night ; and having by his help expelled the Achæan garrison, they placed themselves under his protection. He re-established their laws and ancient form of government, and retired the same day to Tegea. Thence he made a circuit through Arcadia, and marched down to Phæræ in Achaia ; intending by

this movement either to bring the Achæans to a battle, or to make them look upon Aratus in a mean light, for having thus as it were abandoned the country to his destroying sword.

Hyperbatas was indeed general at that time, but Aratus possessed the whole authority. The Achæans assembled their forces, and encamped at Dymææ<sup>13</sup> near Hecatombæum; upon which Cleomenes marched up to them, though it was deemed a rash step for him to take post between Dymææ which belonged to the enemy, and the Achæan camp. He boldly challenged the Achæans however, and indeed forced them to battle, in which he entirely defeated them, killed great numbers upon the spot, and took many prisoners. Lango was his next object, from which he expelled an Achæan garrison, and then put the town into the hands of the Eleans.

When the Achæan affairs were in this ruinous state, Aratus, who used to be general every other year, refused the command, though he was strongly pressed to accept it. But it was certainly wrong, when such a storm was raging, to quit the helm, and leave the direction to another\*. The first commands of Cleomenes appeared to the Achæan deputies<sup>14</sup> sufficiently moderate; afterward, however, he sent envoys, and insisted on having the command himself. In other matters, he said, he should not differ with them, for he would restore them both the prisoners and their lands. The Achæans agreed to a

<sup>13</sup> Polybius calls it 'Dymæ.'

\* And yet perhaps some Achæan bard was found, even in those days, who with more poetry than accuracy could celebrate 'the pilot that weather'd the storm!'

<sup>14</sup> The two French translators, and the English one employed by Tonson, change *μετρη* here into *εμετρη*, without any necessity or pretence of authority for it. We do not see why Cleomenes might not possibly, in the first conditions which he proposed, demand something less of the Achæans, than their allowing him to be commander-in-chief and governor of all Greece. (L.) It may be remarked that Plutarch, in the account of this affair which he gives in the Life of Aratus, varies considerably from the one before us.\*



pacification upon these conditions, and invited Cleomenes to Lerna<sup>15</sup>, where a general assembly of their state was to be held. But Cleomenes, hastening his march too much, heated himself, and then very imprudently drank cold water; the consequence of which was, that he threw up a large quantity of blood, and lost the use of his speech. He therefore sent the Achæans the most respectable of the prisoners, and putting off the meeting retired to Lacedæmon.

This ruined the affairs of Greece. Had it not been for this, she might have recovered out of her present distress, and have maintained herself against the insolence and rapacity of the Macedonians. Aratus either feared and distrusted Cleomenes, or envied his unexpected success. He thought it intolerable, that a young man newly sprung up should rob him at once of the honour and power, which he had now for three and thirty years possessed, and come into a government which had been growing so long under his auspices. For this reason, he first tried what his interest and powers of persuasion would do, to keep the Achæans from closing with Cleomenes; but they were prevented from attending to him by their admiration of the great spirit of that prince, and their conviction of the reasonableness of the Spartans, who only sought to bring Peloponnesus back to it's ancient model. Aratus then undertook what would not have become any Grecian, but what in him was peculiarly dishonourable, and unworthy of all his former conduct both in the cabinet and in the field: He called Antigonus into Greece, and filled Peloponnesus with Macedonians; though in his youth he had expelled them, and rescued the citadel of Corinth out of their hands. He was even an enemy, and an object of jealousy, to all kings. Antigonus, in particular (as it appears from the writings, which

<sup>15</sup> Seated on a marsh between Argos and Mycenæ, and famous for the Hydra, which Hercules destroyed.\*

he left behind him <sup>16</sup>), he loaded with a thousand reproaches. He boasts that he had encountered and overcome innumerable difficulties, in order to deliver Athens from a Macedonian garrison; and yet he introduced those very Macedonians, armed as they were, into his own country, into his own house, and even into the women's apartment. At the same time he could not bear that a Spartan king, a descendent of Hercules, whose only ambition it was to restore the ancient polity of his country, to correct it's broken harmony, and to bring it back to the sober Doric tone which Lycurgus had given it <sup>17</sup>, should be declared general of the Sicyonians and Tricæans <sup>18</sup>. In order to avoid the coarse cake and the short cloke, and (what he thought the greatest grievance in the whole system of Cleomenes) the abolishing of riches, and the rendering of poverty a more supportable thing, he made Achæa truckle to the diadem and purple of Macedonians and of Asiatic grandees. To shun the appearance of submission to Cleomenes, he offered sacrifices to the divinity of Antigonus, and with a garland on his head sung pæans in honour of a rotten Macedonian. These things we adduce, not in accusation of Aratus, for in many respects he was a great man, and worthy of Greece; we mean only to point out with compassion the weakness of human nature, which in dispositions the best formed to virtue can produce no excellence without some taint of imperfection.

When the Achæans re-assembled at Argos, and Cleomenes came down from Tegea to meet them,

<sup>16</sup> Aratus wrote a History of the Achæans, and of his own conduct.

<sup>17</sup> The music, like the architecture, of the Dorians was remarkable for it's simplicity. M. Ricard however, with the Latin translator and Amyot, thinks that Plutarch, though he often illustrates political by physical harmony, only means in this place to refer to the Doric origin of the Lacedæmonians.\*

<sup>18</sup> This, probably, should be 'Tritæans.' Tritæa was a city of Phocis, and comprehended in the league; which could hardly be the case with Tricæa, a city of Thessaly, or rather of Achæa. Paus. vi. 12.

the Greeks entertained strong hopes of peace. But Aratus, who had already settled the principal points with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes, either by his courteous mode of treating, or by force, would gain all he wanted from the people, proposed; "That he should take three hundred hostages for the security of his person, and enter the town alone: or, if he declined that proposal, should come to the place of exercise without the walls called Cyllarabium<sup>19</sup>, and treat there at the head of his army." Cleomenes remonstrated against the injustice of these proceedings. He said, "They should have made him these proposals at first; and not now, when he was at their gates, distrust him, and shut him out." He therefore addressed to the Achæans upon this subject a letter, almost filled with complaints of Aratus; and the applications of Aratus to the people were little more than invectives against the king of Sparta. The consequence was, that the latter quickly retired, and despatched a herald to declare war against the Achæans. This herald (according to Aratus) was sent, not to Argos, but to Ægium<sup>20</sup>, in order that the Achæans might be entirely unprepared. There were at this time great commotions among the members of the Achæan league, and many towns were ready to fall off. For the common people were longing for an equal distribution of lands, and the extinction of their debts; while the better sort in general were displeased at Aratus, and some of them highly provoked at his having brought the Macedonians into Peloponnesus,

Encouraged by these misunderstandings, Cleomenes entered Achaia; where he first took Pellene by surprise, and dislodged the Achæan garrison. He, subsequently, made himself master of Pheneum and

<sup>19</sup> From Cyllarbus, the son of Sthenelus.

<sup>20</sup> This was a maritime town of Achæa on the Corinthian bay, and of course at a great distance from Argos. The intention of Cleomenes was to take Argos by surprise, before the inhabitants could receive intelligence of the war.

**Penteleum.** As the Achæans were apprehensive of a revolt at Corinth and Sicyon, they sent a body of cavalry and some mercenaries from Argos, to guard against any measures tending that way, and proceeded themselves to celebrate the Nemean games at Argos. Upon this, Cleomenes hoping (as it eventually happened) that if he could come suddenly upon the city, while it was filled with multitudes assembled to partake of the diversions, he should throw all into the utmost confusion, marched up to the walls by night, and seized the quarter called *Aspis*, which lay above the theatre, notwithstanding it's difficulty of access. This struck them all with such terror, that no one thought of making any resistance; they agreed to receive a garrison, and gave twenty of the citizens hostages for their acting as allies to Sparta, and following the standard of Cleomenes as their general.

This action added greatly to the fame and authority of that prince. For the ancient kings of Sparta, with all their endeavours, could never fix Argos in their interest; and Pyrrhus himself, one of the ablest of chieftains, though he forced his way into the town, could not retain possession of it; but lost his life in the attempt, and had a considerable part of his army cut in pieces. Hence the despatch and keenness of Cleomenes were the more admired; and they, who before had laughed at him for declaring, that he would tread in the steps of Solon and Lycurgus in the cancelling of debts and in an equal division of property, were now fully persuaded, that he was the sole cause of the entire change in the spirit and success of the Spartans. In both respects they were so contemptible before, and so little able to help themselves, that the *Ætolians* made an inroad into *Laconia*, and carried off fifty thousand slaves. Upon which occasion, one of the old Spartans said, "The enemy had done them a kindness, by taking such a heavy charge off their hands." Yet they had no sooner returned to their primitive customs and dis-

cipline, than as if Lycurgus himself had restored his polity, and invigorated it with his presence, they gave the most extraordinary instances of valour and obedience to their magistrates, in raising Sparta to it's ancient superiority in Greece, and recovering Peloponnesus.

Along with Argos, Cleonæ and Phlius immediately came in<sup>21</sup>. Aratus was at that time making an inquisition at Corinth into the conduct of such, as were reported to be in the Lacedæmonian interest. But when the intelligence of their late losses reached him, and he found that the city was falling off to Cleomenes, and sought to get rid of the Achæans<sup>22</sup>, he was not a little alarmed. In this confusion he could devise no better expedient, than that of calling the citizens to council, while he stole away to the gate, and finding a horse ready for him there, he mounted and fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were in such haste to pay their compliments to Cleomenes, that (as Aratus informs us) they killed or spoiled all their horses. Cleomenes, he adds, highly censured them for not having seized him, but suffered him to escape. Nevertheless Megistoneus, he subjoins, came to him on the part of that prince, and offered to give him large sums, if he would deliver up the citadel of Corinth, where he had an Achæan garrison. But to this he replied, "That affairs did not then depend upon him; he must be governed by circumstances." So Aratus himself writes.

Cleomenes in his march from Argos added the Trœzenians, Epidaurians, and Hermionians to the number of his friends and allies; and then went to Corinth, and drew a line of circumvallation about the citadel, which the Achæans refused to surrender.

<sup>21</sup> Towns between Argos and Corinth.

<sup>22</sup> In the printed text it is *Ἀχαιοὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν βυλόμενοι*, and the Latin and French Translators have followed it, rendering it to this sense, 'and the Achæans were hastening home;' but two MSS. give us *ἐκχωρομένην*, referring to *Πόλιν* preceding, and with the former English translator we choose to follow that reading.

He sent, however, for the friends and stewards of Aratus, and ordered them to take care of his house and effects in that city. He likewise sent again to that general by Tritymallus the Messenian, and proposed that the citadel should be garrisoned half with Achæans, and half with Lacedæmonians; offering at the same time to double the pension, which he then received from Pto'emy [Euergetes] king of Egypt. But Aratus, instead of accepting these conditions, having despatched his son and other hostages to Antigonius, and persuaded the Achæans to give orders that the citadel of Corinth should be put into the hands of that prince, Cleomenes immediately ravaged the territories of Sicyon, and in pursuance of a decree of the Corinthians seized on the whole estate of Aratus. After Antigonius had passed Gerania<sup>23</sup> with a large army, Cleomenes thought it more advisable to fortify the Onæan mountains<sup>24</sup> than the Isthmus, and by the advantage of his post to tire out the Macedonians, rather than hazard a pitched battle with the highly disciplined Phalanx. By this plan of operations Antigonius was greatly perplexed. For he had neither laid in a sufficient quantity of provisions, nor could he easily force the pass, where Cleomenes had stationed himself. He attempted one night, indeed, to get into Peloponnesus by the port of Lechæum<sup>25</sup>, but he was repulsed with loss.

Cleomenes was highly encouraged by this success, and his troops went to their evening's refreshment with pleasure. Antigonius, on the other hand, was excessively dispirited; for he saw himself in so troublesome a situation, that it was scarcely possible to

<sup>23</sup> A mountain between Megara and Corinth.

<sup>24</sup> This range of mountains extends from the Scironian rocks, on the road to Attica, as far as mount Cithæron. (Strab. viii.) They were called *ορη αῶνα*, 'the mountains of asses,' (L.) a name derived (as the learned Bryant elaborately proves, in his Dissertation upon the story of Balaam) from one of the objects of idolatry of the heathen world.\*

<sup>25</sup> One of the two harbours of Corinth.

find any resources, except such as were extremely difficult of execution. At last he determined to move to the promontory of Heraeum<sup>26</sup>, and thence to transport his troops in boats to Sicyon; but that required much time, and very considerable preparations. The following evening, however, some of the friends of Aratus arrived from Argos by sea, having been sent to acquaint him that the Argives were revolting from Cleomenes, and proposed to invite him to that city. Of this defection Aristotle was the author, and he had found no great difficulty in persuading the people into it, because Cleomenes had not cancelled their debts, as he had given them reason to expect. Upon this Aratus with fifteen hundred men, whom he had received from Antigonus, sailed to Epidaurus. But Aristotle, not waiting for him, assembled the townsmen, and with the assistance of Timoxenus and a party of Achæans from Sicyon attacked the citadel.

Cleomenes, receiving intelligence of this about the second watch of the night, sent for Megistonoüs, and in an angry tone ordered him to the relief of Argos. For he it was, who had principally guaranteed the obedience of the Argives, and had thus prevented the expulsion of such as were suspected. Having despatched Megistonoüs upon this business, the Spartan prince watched the motions of Antigonus, and endeavoured to dispel the fears of the Corinthians; assuring them, it was no serious affair that had happened at Argos, but only an inconsiderable tumult. Megistonoüs got into Argos, but was slain in a skirmish there; the garrison were hard pressed, and messenger after messenger was sent to Cleomenes. Upon this he was afraid that the enemy, after they had made themselves masters of Argos, would block up the passages against him, and then go and ravage Laconia at their pleasure, and besiege

<sup>26</sup> Consecrated to Juno, on which stood a temple of that goddess.  
See Liv. xxxii. 23.

Sparta itself, which was now entirely defenceless. He therefore decamped from Corinth, the consequence of which was the loss of the town; for Antigonus immediately entered it, and placed a garrison there. In the mean time Cleomenes, having collected his forces which had been scattered in their march, attempted to scale the walls of Argos; but failing in that enterprise, he broke open the vaults under the quarter called Aspis, gained an entrance that way, and joined his garrison, which still held out against the Achæans. After this, he took some other quarters of the city by assault; and, ordering the Cretan archers to ply their bows, quickly cleared the streets of the enemy. But when he saw Antigonus descending with his infantry from the heights into the plain, and his cavalry already pouring into the city, he thought it impossible to maintain his post. He had now no other resource but to collect all his men, and retire along the walls, which he accordingly did without loss. Thus, after having achieved the greatest exploits in a short space of time, and made himself master of almost the whole of Peloponnesus in one campaign, he lost all in less time than he had gained it; some cities immediately withdrawing from his alliance, and others surrendering themselves not long afterward to Antigonus.

Such was the ill success of this expedition. And what was no less a misfortune, as he was marching home, messengers from Lacedæmon met him in the evening near Tegea, and informed him of the death of his wife; for whom his affection was so strong, that amidst the current of his happiest success he could not stay from her a whole campaign, but frequently repaired to Sparta. No wonder then that a young man, deprived of so beautiful and virtuous a wife, should be extremely affected with the loss. Yet his sorrow did not debase the dignity of his mind. He spoke in the same accent; he preserved the same dress and look: he gave his orders to his officers, and provided for the security of Tegea.



Next morning he entered Lacedæmon; and, after having paid a proper tribute to grief at home with his mother and his children, he applied himself to the concerns of state. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, agreed to furnish him with succours; but it was on condition, that he sent him his mother and children as hostages. This circumstance he knew not how to communicate to his mother; and whenever he attempted to mention it to her, he was unable to proceed. She began to suspect there was something, which he was afraid to open to her; and she asked his friends, what it might be. At last, he ventured to tell her; upon which she burst into a fit of laughter, and said, "Was this the thing, which you have so long hesitated to communicate? Why do not you immediately put us on board a ship, and send this carcase of mine where you think it may be of most use to Sparta, before age renders it good for nothing, and sinks it into the grave?"

When every thing was prepared for the voyage, they went by land to Tænarus, the army conducting them to that port. Cratesiclea, being on the point of embarking, took Cleomenes alone into the temple of Neptune, where seeing him in great emotion and concern, she threw her arms about him and said; "King of the Lacedæmonians, take care that when we go out, no one perceive us weeping, or doing any thing unworthy of Sparta. This alone is in our power; the event is in the hands of God." After she had given him this advice, and composed her countenance, she went on board, with her little grandson in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to sea as soon as possible.

Upon her arrival in Egypt, she understood that Ptolemy had received ambassadors from Antigonus, and seemed to listen to his proposals; and on the other hand, she was informed that Cleomenes, though invited by the Achæans to a pacification, was afraid upon her account to put an end to the war without Ptolemy's consent. In this difficulty she wrote to

her son, to desire him "to do what he thought most advantageous and honourable for Sparta, and not for the sake of an old woman and a child to live in constant fear of Ptolemy." Such, under adverse fortune, was the behaviour of Cratesiclea.

After Antigonus had taken Tegea and plundered Orchomenus and Mantinea, Cleomenes, now shut up within the bounds of Laconia, enfranchised such of the helots as could pay five Attic minæ for their liberty. By this expedient he raised fifty talents; and having moreover armed and trained in the Macedonian manner two thousand of those helots, whom he designed to oppose to the Leucaspides of Antigonus, he engaged in a great and unexpected enterprise. Megalopolis was at that time as large and powerful a city as Sparta. It was supported, besides, by the Achæans and Antigonus, whose troops lay on each side of it. The Megalopolitans, indeed, had been the foremost and the most eager of all the Achæans in their application to Antigonus. Yet this city Cleomenes resolved to surprise; for which purpose he ordered his men to take five days' provisions, and led them to Sellasia, as if he meditated an inroad into the territories of Argos. But he turned short and entered those of Megalopolis; and, after having refreshed his troops at Rhætium, marched by Helicus<sup>27</sup> directly toward that city. When he was near it he sent Panteus forward with two companies of Lacedæmonians to seize that part of the wall, which was between the two towers, and which he understood to be the least guarded; and followed himself, with the rest of his army, at the common pace. Panteus finding not only that quarter, but a considerable portion of the remainder of the wall without defence, pulled it down in some places, undermined it in others, and put all the sentinels to the sword. While he was thus employed, Cleomenes

<sup>27</sup> Lubinus, from a passage in Pausanias, thinks it ought to be read 'Helisson,' there being no such place as Helicus in Arcadia.

came up, and entered the city with his forces, before the Megalopolitans knew of his approach.

As soon as they were apprised of the misfortune, which had befallen them, the chief part left the city, taking along with them their money and other most valuable effects. The rest made a stand, and though they could not dislodge the enemy, yet by their resistance they gave their fellow-citizen an opportunity of escaping. There remained not above a thousand men in the town, all the others having retired to Messene with their wives and children, before there was any possibility of pursuing them. A large proportion even of those, who had armed and fought in defence of the city got off, and very few were taken prisoners. Of this number were Lysandridas and Thearidas, two persons of high name and authority in Megalopolis. As they were such respectable men, the soldiers carried them before Cleomenes. Lysandridas no sooner saw Cleomenes, than he thus addressed him: "Now," said he (in a loud voice, because it was at a distance), "now, king of Sparta, you have an opportunity of doing an action much more glorious and princely than the late one, and of acquiring immortal honour." Cleomenes, guessing at his aim, replied; "You would not have me restore you the town?" "The very thing," said Lysandridas, "which I would propose. I strongly advise you not to destroy so fine a city, but to fill it with firm friends and faithful allies by restoring the Megalopolitans to their country, and becoming the saviour of so considerable a people." Cleomenes paused a while, and then answered, "This is hard to believe; but be that as it may, let glory with us always preponderate over interest." In consequence of this determination he despatched the two men to Messene, with a herald in his own name, to offer the Megalopolitans their town on condition that they would renounce the Achæans, and declare themselves his friends and allies.

Though Cleomenes however made so gracious and

humane a proposal, Philopœmen would not suffer the Megalopolitans to accept it, or to quit the Achæan league<sup>28</sup>; but assuring them that the king of Sparta, instead of inclining to restore them their city, was only anxious to get the citizens likewise into his power, forced Theandras and Lysandridas to leave Messene. This is that Philopœmen, who was subsequently the leading man among the Achæans, and (as we have related in his Life) one of the most illustrious of the Greeks.

Upon this Cleomenes, who had hitherto kept the houses and goods of the Megalopolitans with so much care, that not the least thing had been embezzled, was enraged to such a degree, that he plundered the whole, sent the statues and pictures to Sparta, and levelled the greatest and best parts of the city with the ground. He then marched home again, being under some apprehensions that Antigonus and the Achæans would come upon him. They made no motion, however, toward it, for they were then holding a council at Ægium. Aratus mounted the Rostrum upon that occasion, where he wept a long time with his robe before his face. They were all much surprised and desired him to speak. At last he said, "Megalopolis is destroyed by Cleomenes." The Achæans were astonished at so heavy and sudden a blow, and the council immediately broke up. Antigonus made strenuous efforts to go to the relief of the place; but as his troops assembled slowly from their winter-quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, and marched to Argos with a considerable body of forces which he had with him.

This caused the second enterprise of Cleomenes to appear rash and desperate; but Polybius, on the contrary, informs us, that it was conducted with the utmost foresight. For knowing (as he tells us) that

<sup>28</sup> Polybius, in his second book, bestows just encomiums upon this conduct of the Megalopolitans, and as warmly censures the cruelty of Cleomenes.

the Macedonians were dispersed in winter-quarters, and that Antigonus lay in Argos with only his friends and a few mercenaries about him, he entered the territories of that city; under the persuasion, that either the shame of suffering such an inroad would provoke Antigonus to battle and expose him to a defeat, or that if he declined the combat, it would bring him into disrepute with the Argives. The event justified his expectation. When the people of Argos saw their country laid waste, and every thing that was valuable destroyed or carried off, they ran in great displeasure to the king's gates, and besieged them with their clamours, bidding him either go out and fight, or else give place to his superiors. Antigonus however, like a wise and able general, thought the censures of strangers no disgrace, in comparison with his quitting a place of security and rashly hazarding a battle, and therefore he persisted in his first resolution. Cleomenes, in the mean time, marched up to the very walls, insulted his enemies, and before he retired spread desolation at his pleasure.

Soon after his return, he was informed that Antigonus was come to Tegea, with a design to enter Laconia on that side. Upon this emergency he put his troops under march another way, and appeared again before Argos by break of day, ravaging all the adjacent fields. He did not now cut down the corn with sithes and sickles; as people usually do, but beat it down with wooden instruments in the form of cimitars, as if this destruction was only an amusement to his soldiers in their march. Yet when they would have set fire to Cyllarabis, the school of exercise, he prevented it; reflecting, that the ruin of Megalopolis had been dictated by passion rather than by reason.

Antigonus immediately returned to Argos, having taken care to place guards in all the passes of the mountains. But Cleomenes, as if he held him and his operations in the utmost contempt, sent heralds

to demand the keys of Juno's temple, that he might sacrifice to the goddess. After he had indulged himself in this insult on his enemy, and offered his sacrifice under the walls of the temple which was fast shut up, he led his troops off to Phlius. In his march thence he dislodged the garrison of Ologuntus, and then proceeded by Orchomenus; by which means he not only inspired his subjects with fresh courage, but made himself considered by the enemy as an admirable general, and a man capable of the most arduous undertakings. For with the strength of a single city to oppose the whole power of the Macedonians and Peloponnesians, and all the treasures of the king, and not only to keep Laconia untouched, but to carry devastation into the enemy's country, were indications of no common genius and spirit.

He, who first termed money 'the sinews of business,' seems principally to have had respect to the business of war. And Demades, when the Athenians called upon him to equip their navy, and get it out, though their treasury was very low, told them, "They must think of baking bread, before they thought of an embarkation." It is also said that the old Archidamus, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies desired that the quota of each might be settled, replied, "War cannot be kept at a set diet<sup>19</sup>." And in this case we may justly observe that, as wrestlers strengthened by long exercises at last weary out those, who have equal skill and agility, but not equal exercise; so Antigonus, coming to the war with vast funds, in process of time exhausted and overcame Cleomenes, who could but very slenderly pay his mercenaries, and give his Spartans bread.

In all other respects the times favoured Cleomenes, Antigonus being called home by the bad posture of

<sup>19</sup> This saying is below, in Demosthenes' Life, assigned to the orator Crobylus, upon a different occasion.\*

his affairs. For, in his absence, the barbarians had invaded and ravaged the whole of Macedon. The Illyrians in particular, descending with an immense army from the north, had harassed the Macedonians so much, that they were compelled to send for Antigonus. Had the letters been brought a little before the battle, that general would have immediately departed, and bidden the Achæans a long farewell. But Fortune, who loves to make the greatest affairs turn upon some minute circumstance, proved on this occasion of what consequence a moment of time may be<sup>30</sup>. As soon as the battle of Sellasia<sup>31</sup> was fought, and Cleomenes had lost his army and his city, messengers arrived to call Antigonus home. This was a deep aggravation of the Spartan king's misfortunes. Had he held off, and avoided an action only a day or two longer, he would have been under no necessity of fighting; and, after the Macedonians were gone, he might have made peace with the Achæans upon what conditions he pleased. But such, as we said, was his want of money, that he had no resource but the sword; and, therefore, as Polybius informs us, with twenty thousand men he was constrained to challenge thirty thousand.

Through the whole course of the action he showed himself an excellent general; his Spartans behaved with the utmost spirit, and his mercenaries fought not ill; his defeat was owing to the superior advantage, which the Macedonians had in their armour,

<sup>30</sup> Plutarch had this reflection from Polybius.

<sup>31</sup> Polybius, in his second book, has given a particular account of this battle. Antigonus had twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. The army of Cleomenes consisted only of twenty thousand; but it was advantageously posted. He was encamped on two mountains, which were almost inaccessible, and separated only by a narrow defile. These he had fortified with strong ramparts, and a deep fosse; so that Antigonus, after reconnoitring his situation, did not think proper to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the plain. At length, through want of money and provisions, Cleomenes was forced to come to action, and was beaten.

and to the weight and impetuosity of their phalanx. Phylarchus indeed assures us, it was the treachery of one of his officers, that ruined the affairs of Cleomenes. Antigonus had ordered the Illyrians and Acarnanians secretly to take a circuit, and surround that wing which was commanded by Euclidas the brother of Cleomenes, while he was marshalling the rest of his army. Cleomenes, viewing from an eminence his adversary's arrangement, could not perceive where the Illyrians and Acarnanians were posted, and began to fear that they were designed for some such manœuvre. He therefore called Damoteles, whose business it was to guard against any surprise, and ordered him to reconnoitre the enemy's rear with particular care, and form the best conjecture he could of the intended movements. Damoteles, who is said to have been bribed by Antigonus, assured him that "he had nothing to fear from that quarter, for all was safe in the rear; neither was there any thing more to be done, but to resist the attack upon his front." Cleomenes, satisfied with this report, encountered Antigonus. The Spartans charged with so much vigour, that they drove back the Macedonian phalanx, and eagerly pursued their advantage for about five furlongs. The king then, seeing Euclidas in the other wing quite surrounded, stopped and exclaimed; "Thou art lost, my dear brother, thou art lost, in spite of all thy valour! But glorious is thy example to our Spartan youth, and in the songs of our matrons thou shalt be for ever recorded!"

Euclidas and the wing he commanded being thus cut off, the victors fell upon Cleomenes, who seeing his men in disorder, and unable to maintain the fight, provided as well as he could for his own safety. It is said, that great numbers of the mercenaries were

<sup>32</sup> He acted like a brave soldier (as it appears from Polybius), but not like a skilful officer. Instead of pouring down upon the enemy from the heights, and retiring as he found it convenient, he stood still, and suffered the Macedonians to intercept his retreat.



killed; and that, of six thousand Lacedæmonians, not more than two hundred escaped.

When he reached Sparta, he advised the citizens to receive Antigonus. "For my part," said he, "I am willing either to live or to die, as the one or the other may be most for the interest of my country." Seeing the women running to meet the few brave men, who had escaped with him, helping to take off their armour, and presenting them with wine, he retired into his own house. After the death of his wife, he had taken into keeping a young woman, who was a free-born native of Megalopolis. She approached him, according to custom, with a tender of her services on his return from the field. But though both thirsty and weary, he would neither drink nor sit down; he only placed his hand against a pillar, and his head upon his elbow armed as he was; and having rested a few moments, while he considered what course to take, he repaired to Gythium<sup>33</sup> with his friends. There they embarked on board of vessels provided for that purpose, and immediately put to sea.

Upon the arrival of Antigonus, Sparta surrendered. His behaviour to the inhabitants was mild and humane, and not unsuitable to the dignity of their republic. For he offered them no kind of insult, but restored to them their laws and polity; and, after having sacrificed to the gods, retired the third day. He had learned, indeed, that Macedon was involved in a dangerous war, and that the barbarians were ravaging the country. Besides, he was in a deep consumption, and had a continual defluxion upon the lungs. He bore up however under his affliction, and wrestled with domestic wars, until a brilliant and bloody victory over the barbarians enabled him to die more gloriously. Phylarchus informs us (and it is not at all improbable) that he burst a vessel in

<sup>33</sup> A small city near the mouth of the Eurotas, which served as the port of Sparta.\*

his lungs, with shouting in the battle: though it was current in the schools, that in expressing his joy after the victory, and crying out, "O glorious day!" he brought up a great quantity of blood, and fell into a fever, of which he died. Thus much concerning Antigonus.

From the isle of Cythera, where Cleomenes first touched, he sailed to another island called Ægialia. There, he had formed a design to pass over to Cyrene; when one of his friends named Therycion, a man of high and intrepid spirit upon all occasions, and one who always indulged himself in a lofty and haughty turn of expression, came privately to him and thus addressed him: "We have lost, my prince, the most noble of deaths, which we might have found in the battle; though the world had heard us boast, that Antigonus should never conquer the king of Sparta, till he had slain him. Yet there is a second opportunity, still offered us by glory and virtue. Whither then are we so absurdly sailing; flying a death that is near, and seeking one that is remote? If it is not dishonourable for the descents of Hercules to serve the successors of Philip and Alexander, why do we not save ourselves a long voyage by making our submission to Antigonus, who in all probability as much excels Ptolemy, as the Macedonians do the Egyptians? But if we do not choose to be governed by a man, who beat us in the field, why do we take one who never conquered us, for our master? Is it that we may exhibit our inferiority to two, instead of one, by flying before Antigonus, and then going to flatter Ptolemy? Shall we say, that you go into Egypt for your mother's sake? It will be a glorious and happy thing truly for her, to show Ptolemy's wives her son from a king degraded into a captive and an exile. No! while we are yet masters of our swords, and are still in sight of Laconia, let us deliver ourselves from this miserable fortune, and make our excuse for our past behaviour to those brave men, who fell for Sparta at Sellasia. Or shall we

“ rather sit down in Egypt, and inquire whom Antigonus has left satrap of Lacedæmon?”

To this speech of Therycion, Cleomenes replied :  
 “ Dost thou think then, wretch that thou art, dost  
 “ thou think by running into the arms of death, a  
 “ thing of all others the easiest to be found, to display thy courage and fortitude? And dost thou  
 “ not consider, that this flight is still more dastardly  
 “ than the former? Better men than we have given  
 “ way to their enemies, being either overset by fortune, or oppressed by numbers. But he, who  
 “ faints through fear either of labour and pain, or of  
 “ the opinions and tongues of men, falls a victim to  
 “ his own cowardice. A voluntary death ought to  
 “ be an action, not a retreat from action. For it is  
 “ an ungenerous thing, either to live or to die to  
 “ ourselves. All that thy expedient could possibly  
 “ effect, would be only to extricate us from our present misfortunes, without answering any purpose  
 “ either of honour or of utility. But I think that  
 “ neither thou, nor I, ought to desert all hopes for  
 “ our country. If those hopes should desert us,  
 “ death, when we seek for him, will not be hard to  
 “ find.” Therycion made no reply; but on the first opportunity of quitting Cleomenes, he went down to the shore, and stabbed himself.

Cleomenes left Ægialia, and sailed to Africa, where he was received by the king's officers, and conducted to Alexandria. When he was first introduced to Ptolemy<sup>31</sup>, that prince behaved to him with sufficient kindness and humanity; but when upon farther trial of him, he discovered his strength of understanding, and that his laconic and simple way of conversing was mixed with a vein of wit and pleasantry; when he saw that he did not in any instance whatever dishonour his royal birth, or crouch to fortune, he began to take more pleasure in his discourse, than in the mean sacrifices of complaisance and flattery. He deeply repented likewise, and blushed at the thought of having neglected such a man, and

<sup>31</sup> Ptolemy Evergetes.

given him up to Antigonus, who by conquering him had acquired so much power and glory. He therefore now encouraged him with every mark of attention and respect, and promised to send him back to Greece with a fleet and a supply of money, to re-establish him in his kingdom. His present appointments amounted to four and twenty talents by the year. Out of this, he maintained himself and his friends in a sober and frugal manner, and employed the rest in offices of humanity to such Greeks, as had left their country and retired into Egypt.

But old Ptolemy died, before he could carry his intentions in favour of Cleomenes into execution; and the court soon becoming a scene of debauchery and drunkenness, where women bore the chief sway, the business of Cleomenes was neglected. For the new king<sup>3</sup> was so much corrupted with wine and women, that in his more sober and serious hours he would attend to nothing but the celebration of mysteries, and the beating of a drum round the palace; while the great affairs of state were left to his mistress Agathoclea, and her mother, and Oenanthes the infamous minister of his pleasures. It appears, however, that at first some use was made of Cleomenes. For Ptolemy being afraid of his brother Magas, who through his mother's interest was in high favour with the army, admitted Cleomenes to a consultation in his cabinet; the subject of which was, whether or not he should destroy his brother. All the rest voted for it, but Cleomenes strongly opposed it. He said, "The king, if it were possible, ought to have more brothers, for the greater security of the crown, and the better management of affairs." And when Sosibius, the king's principal favourite, replied; "That the mercenaries could not be trusted, so long as Magas was alive," Cleomenes desired them to give themselves no concern on that head: "For," said he, "above three thou-

"sand of the mercenaries are Peloponnesians, who upon a nod from me will be ready with their arms<sup>36</sup>." Hence Ptolemy for the present considered Cleomenes not only as a steady friend, but a man of power; but his weakness afterward, as is common with people of little understanding, increasing his timidity, he began to place his security in jealousy and suspicion. His ministers were of the same stamp, and they regarded Cleomenes, on account of his interest with the mercenaries, as an object of apprehension; insomuch that many were heard to say, "He was a lion among a flock of sheep." Such indeed he seemed to be at that court, where with a silent severity of aspect he observed all that passed.

Amidst these circumstances, he made no more applications for ships or troops. But having learnt that Antigonus was dead, that the Achæans were engaged in war with the Ætolians, and that affairs called strongly for his presence in the troubles and distractions which then reigned in Peloponnesus, he desired only a conveyance thither for himself and his friends. No one, however, listened to his application. The king, who spent his time in all kinds of bacchanalian revels with women, could not possibly hear him. Sosibius, the prime minister, thought Cleomenes must prove a formidable and dangerous man, if he were kept in Egypt against his will; and that yet it was not safe to dismiss him, because of his bold and enterprising spirit, and because he had been an eye-witness of the distempered state of the kingdom. For it was not in the power of money to mollify him. As the Ox Apis<sup>37</sup>, though revelling to all appearance in every imaginable delight, yet longs after the liberty which nature gave him, desires to

<sup>36</sup> Polybius gives a different and darker picture of Cleomenes' conduct upon this occasion, and represents him as making this speech only to confirm Ptolemy and Sosibius in their project of murdering Magas.

<sup>37</sup> Which had a temple at Memphis, and was one of the chief objects of Egyptian superstition.

bound over the fields and pastures at his pleasure; and discovers a manifest uneasiness under the hands of the priest who feeds him, so Cleomenes could not be satisfied with a soft and effeminate life; but, like Achilles,

Consuming cares lay heavy on his mind:  
In his black thoughts revenge and slaughter roll,  
And scenes of blood rise dreadful in his soul <sup>38</sup>.

While his affairs were in this posture, Nicagoras the Messenian, a man who under the pretence of friendship concealed the most rancorous hatred <sup>39</sup> of Cleomenes, came to Alexandria. He had formerly, it seems, sold him a fine piece of ground; and the king either through want of money, or his continual engagement in war, had neglected to pay him for it. Cleomenes, who happened to be walking upon the quay, saw this Nicagoras just landing from a merchant-ship, and saluting him with great kindness, inquired, "What business had brought him to Egypt?" Nicagoras returned the compliment with an equal appearance of friendship, and answered, "I am bringing some fine war-horses for the king." Cleomenes laughed, and said, "I could rather have wished that you had brought him some female musicians and pathics; for those are the cattle, that the king at present likes best." Nicagoras,

<sup>38</sup> Pope. Hom. Il. i. 491.\*

<sup>39</sup> Of this hatred Polybius assigns the cause. Nicagoras had been the friend of the murdered Archidamus, had negotiated his return to Sparta, and had accompanied him thither. His subsequent rancour against Cleomenes seems to prove, but too well, the participation of that prince in the murder. See p. 158, not. (4.) This, as prejudicial to the character of his hero, Plutarch appears here to have suppressed; and yet, in the subjoined parallel, he admits the probability of his guilt. It must be owned however that he is too partial to Cleomenes, probably in consequence of having followed Phylarchus (though by his own confession, occasionally a fabulous writer: see the Life of Themistocles, l. 358.) in preference to Polybius, whom he perhaps suspected of an undue bias in favour of Aratus and the Achæans.\*

at that time, only smiled; but a few days afterward he reminded Cleomenes of the field, which he had sold him, and requested to be paid for it; pretending, "That he would not have given him any trouble about it, if he had not met with considerable loss in the disposal of his merchandise." Cleomenes assured him, "That he had nothing left, of what the kings of Egypt had given him;" upon which Nicagoras, in his disappointment, acquainted Sosibius with the joke upon the king. Sosibius received the information with pleasure; but, being desirous to have something against Cleomenes that would still farther exasperate Ptolemy, he persuaded Nicagoras to leave a letter behind him, asserting that, "If the Spartan prince had received a supply of ships and men from the king of Egypt's bounty, he would have made use of them in seizing Cyrene for himself." Nicagoras accordingly left the letter, and set sail. Four days afterward, Sosibius carried it to Ptolemy, as if it had just come to his hands; and having worked up the young prince to revenge, it was resolved that Cleomenes should have a large apartment assigned him, and be served there as formerly, but not suffered to go out.

This was a heavy affliction to Cleomenes; and the following accident made his prospects still more miserable. Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, who was an intimate friend of the king, had uniformly behaved to Cleomenes with the utmost civility; they seemed to like each other's company, and were upon some terms of confidence. Cleomenes, in this distress, desired the son of Chrysermus to come and speak to him. He accordingly came and conversed with him in the most plausible manner, endeavouring to dispel his suspicions, and to apologise for the king. But as he was going out of the apartment, without observing that Cleomenes had followed him to the door, he gave the keepers a severe reprimand, "for looking so carelessly after a wild beast, who, if he escaped, could never in all probability be retaken."

Cleomenes, having heard this, retired before Ptolemy perceived him, and acquainted his friends with it. Upon which they all dismissed their former hopes, and taking the measures which anger dictated, resolved to revenge themselves of Ptolemy's injurious and insolent behaviour, and then die as became Spartans, instead of waiting long for their doom in confinement, like victims fatted for the altar. For they thought it insufferable that Cleomenes, after he had disdained to come to terms with Antigonos, a brave warrior and a man of action, should lingeringly expect his fate from a prince, who assumed the character of a priest of Cybele; and who, after he had laid aside his drum and was tired of his dance, would find another kind of sport in putting him to death.

When they had formed their resolution, Ptolemy happening to go to Canopus<sup>40</sup>, they propagated a report, that by the king's order Cleomenes was to be released; and as it was customary with the kings of Egypt to send those, to whom they designed such a favour, a supper and other tokens of friendship, the friends of Cleomenes made ample provision for the purpose, and sent it to the gate. By this stratagem the keepers were deceived; for they imagined, that the whole had been sent by the king. Cleomenes then offered sacrifice, with a chaplet of flowers upon his head, and afterward sat down with his friends to the banquet, taking care that the keepers should have large portions to regale them. It is said, that he set about his enterprise, sooner than he had intended, because he found that one of the servants, who was in the secret, had been out all night with his mistress. Fearing therefore the probability of a discovery, about mid-day, while the intoxication of the preceding night still kept the guards fast asleep, he put on his military tunic, having first opened the seam of the left shoulder, and rushed out sword in

<sup>40</sup> A city at the western mouth of the Nile, *now, Maudia.*



hand, accompanied by his friends, who were thirteen in number and accoutred in the same manner.

One of them named Hippotas, though lame, was at first enabled by the spirit of the enterprise to keep pace with them; but afterward perceiving that they went slower on his account, he desired them to kill him, and not ruin the whole scheme by waiting for a man, who could do them no service. By good fortune they found an Alexandrian leading a horse in the street; this they seized, and set Hippotas upon it, and then moved swiftly through the streets, all the way inviting the people to liberty. The people, however, had only spirit enough left to praise and admire the bold attempt of Cleomenes, but not one of them ventured to follow or assist him.

Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, happening to come out of the palace, three of them fell upon him, and despatched him. Another Ptolemy, who was governor of the city, advanced to meet them in his chariot: but they attacked and dispersed his officers and guards, and dragging him out of the chariot, put him likewise to the sword. They then marched to the citadel, with a design to break open the prison and attach the prisoners, who were no small number, to their party; but the keepers had prevented them, by strongly barricading the gates. Cleomenes, thus again disappointed, roamed up and down the city: but he found that, instead of joining him, all men cautiously avoided his party.

He therefore stopped and said to his friends, "It is no wonder that women govern a people, who fly from liberty;" adding, "He hoped they would all die in a manner, that would reflect no dishonour upon him, or upon their own achievements." Upon this, Hippotas desired one of the younger men to despatch him, and was the first that fell. Afterward each of them without fear or delay fell upon his own sword, except Panteus, who was the first man that scaled the walls of Megalopolis, when it

was taken by surprise. He was in the flower of his age, remarkable for his beauty, and of a happier turn than the rest of the youth for the Spartan discipline, which perfections had procured him a considerable share of the king's regard; and he now gave him orders not to despatch himself, till he saw his prince and all the rest breathless on the ground. Panteus tried one after another with his dagger, as they lay, lest some one should happen to be left with life in him. On pricking Cleomenes in the foot, he perceived a contortion in his face. He therefore kissed him, and sat down by his side, till the breath was out of his body; and then, embracing the corpse, he slew himself upon it.

Thus fell Cleomenes<sup>41</sup>, after he had been sixteen years king of Sparta, and showed himself in all respects the great man. When the report of his death had spread over the city, Cratesiclea, though a woman of superior fortitude, sunk under the weight of the calamity: she embraced the children of Cleomenes, and wept over them. The elder of them, disengaging himself from her arms, got unsuspected to the top of the house, and threw himself down headlong. He was not killed however, though much hurt: and when they took him up, he loudly expressed his grief and indignation, that they would not suffer him to destroy himself.

Ptolemy was no sooner informed of these things, than he ordered the body of Cleomenes to be flayed<sup>42</sup> and nailed to a cross, and his children to be put to death, together with his mother and the women her companions. Among these was the wife of Panteus, a woman of great beauty, and a most majestic presence. They had been but lately married, and their

<sup>41</sup> B. C. 220.

<sup>42</sup> M. Ricard translates, 'enclosed in a leather bag,' under an idea that the dastardly tyrant's object was to protract the exposure of his brave victim as long as possible. Amyot represents it as somewhere stated, that he even ordered him with that view to be embalmed!

misfortunes overtook them amidst the first transports of love. When her husband went with Cleomenes from Sparta, she was desirous of accompanying him ; but she was prevented by her parents, who kept her in close custody. Soon afterward however she provided herself with a horse and a little money, and making her escape by night, rode at full speed to Tænarus, and there embarked on board a ship bound for Egypt. She reached her husband safely, and readily and cheerfully shared with him in all the inconveniences of a foreign residence. When the soldiers came to take Cratesiclea to the scaffold, she led her by the hand, assisted in bearing her robe, and desiring her to exert all her courage ; though she was far from being afraid of death, and desired no other favour, than that she might die before the children. But when they arrived at the place of execution, the children suffered before her eyes ; and then Cratesiclea was despatched, uttering in her extreme distress only these words, “ O ! my children ! “ whither are you gone ! ”

The wife of Panteus, who was tall and strong, then girt her robe about her, and in a silent and composed manner paid the last offices to each woman that lay dead, winding up the bodies as well as her present circumstances would admit. Last of all, she prepared herself for the poniard, by letting down her robe about her, and adjusting it in such a manner as to need no assistance after death ; then calling the executioner to do his office, and permitting no other person to approach her, she fell like a heroine. In death she retained all the decorum, which she had preserved in life ; and the decency, which had been so sacred with this excellent woman, still remained about her <sup>43</sup>. Thus in this bloody tragedy, in which the women contended to the last for the prize of

<sup>43</sup> Or, as Ovid says of Polyxena,

*Tunc quoque cura fuit partes velare tegendas,  
 Non indecoros sustinuisse necesse pudoris.*

courage with the men, Lacedæmon evinced that it is impossible for fortune to conquer virtue.

A few days afterward the soldiers, who watched the body of Cleomenes on the cross<sup>44</sup>, saw a great snake winding about his head, and covering all his face, so that no bird of prey durst touch it. This struck the king with superstitious terrors, and led the women to try a variety of expiations; for Ptolemy was now persuaded, that he had caused the death of a person who was a favourite of heaven, and something more than mortal. The Alexandrians crowded to the place, and called Cleomenes a hero, a son of the gods: till the philosophers put a stop to their devotions by assuring them, that as dead oxen breed bees<sup>45</sup>, and horses wasps<sup>46</sup>, and beetles rise out of the putrefactions of asses; so human carcasses, when some of the moisture of the marrow is evaporated, and it becomes of a thicker consistence, produce serpents<sup>47</sup>. The ancients, knowing this doctrine, appropriated the serpent, rather than any other animal, to heroes.

<sup>44</sup> Lest the friends of the deceased should take it away by night. Thus we find in Petronius' Ephesian matron, *Miles qui cruces asservabat, ne quis ad sepulchrum corporu detraheret*: And thus we find in another authority, which we shall not profane by mentioning it at the same time with Petronius.

<sup>45</sup> This was the received opinion of antiquity as we find in Varro: *Primum apes nascuntur, partim ex apibus, partim ex bubulo corpore putrefacto*; Itaque Archelaus in epigrammate ait eas esse, — Βοὸς Φθιμῆος παρκοιμῶνα τέκνα. Idem; ἰαπων μὲν σφῆκες γίγνα, μωσχῶν δὲ μέλισσαι.

This is finely illustrated by Virgil, Georg. iv.

<sup>46</sup> *Pressus humo bellator equus crabronis origo.* (Ov. Met. 368.)

<sup>47</sup> *Sunt qui, cū clauso putrefacta est spina sepulchro,  
Mutari credant humanas angue medullas.* (Id. ib. 390.)

The above verses seem to be taken from some Greek lines of Archelaus, addressed to Ptolemy on the subject of serpents being generated from the corruption of the human body.

Αἰετὸς μὲν κοιλῆς ἐκ μυελῶ ῥαχέως  
Ἀσινὸς γὰρ αἰετὸς ὄφης, νεκρὸς δὲ μέλιτος σκαπτοῦρα }

THE  
LIVES  
OF  
TIBERIUS & CAIUS GRACCHUS.

SUMMARY.

- I. *Of the father and mother of the Gracchi : Education, which they receive from the latter. Differences of their characters ; their resemblances. Tiberius' marriage ; and campaigns under Scipio Africanus the Younger, His quæstorship. By his treaty with the Numantians, he saves the army. Judgement of the people, with regard to this treaty, upon Mancinus and Tiberius. Custom of letting to the poor the public domains, abolished by the rich. Tiberius undertakes to correct this abuse. Wisdom of his project ; and his speech in its favour. It is opposed by the tribune Octavius. He brings forward a second ; and forbids all the other magistrates to exercise their functions, till it is passed. He gets Octavius deprived of the tribuneship. His Agrarian law is adopted. He recommends his wife and children to the protection of the people : proposes that the money, bequeathed by Attalus, shall be distributed among the people. Titus Annius' puzzling question. Tiberius' harangue, in justification of the deposing of Octavius. He devises other laws : unfavourable presages. He is encouraged by Blossius. Fulvius Flaccus informs him, that a resolution is formed to despatch him : Nasicæ leaves the senate-house for that purpose. Tiberius is assassinated, and his body thrown into the Tiber. Nasicæ is obliged to quit Italy ; and dies at Pergamus. Resentment of the people against Scipio Africanus.*
- Retired life of Caius Gracchus after Tiberius' death. How he is induced to pursue similar measures with his brother. He pretails upon the troops of Sardinia to send the Roman troops a voluntary*

*supply of clothing ; returns to Rome, and successfully defends himself from charges brought against him upon that subject : is elected tribune. His first laws ; subsequent ones : wise and moderate suggestions in the senate, &c. Plan for constructing the public roads. He is appointed tribune a second time. The senate engage Livius Drusus, by impolitic concessions to the people, to supplant Caius in their favour. Reflexions upon this conduct. He is appointed commissioner for rebuilding and colonising Carthage. Death of Scipio. Inauspicious omens. Caius returns to Rome ; and miscarries in his application for a third tribuneship. One of the lictors of the Consul Opimius killed by his partisans. Resentment of the people, in consequence of the grief expressed by the senate upon this occasion. They pass the night, as guards, before his door. His wife conjures him not to go to the Forum. Death of Fulvius ; and of Caius. Their bodies thrown into the Tiber. Opimius is convicted of having accepted a bribe from Jugurtha. Honours paid by the people to the memory of the Gracchi.*

## I. TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

**H**AVING thus presented you with the history of Agis and Cleomenes, we have two Romans to compare with them, and no less dreadful a scene of calamities to exhibit in the Lives of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus ; who though he was once honoured with the censorship, twice with the consulate, and led up two triumphs, derived still greater dignity from his virtues<sup>1</sup>. Hence, after the death of Scipio who conquered Annibal, he was thought worthy to marry Cornelia the daughter of that great man, though he had never been upon any terms of friendship, but rather always at variance with him. It is said, that he once caught a pair of serpents upon his bed ; and that the soothsayers, after they had considered the prodigy, advised him neither to kill them both, nor

<sup>1</sup> Cicero (De Div. i. 18., and De Nat. Deor., ii. 4.) passes the highest encomiums upon his virtue and wisdom. He was grandson to Publius Sempornius.

to let them both go. If he killed the male serpent, they told him his own death would be the consequence; if the female, that of Cornelia. Tiberius who loved his wife, and thought it more suitable for himself to die first as much the older of the two, killed the male, and set the female at liberty. Not long after this he died, leaving Cornelia, with twelve children<sup>2</sup>.

The care of the house and the children now wholly devolved upon Cornelia; and she behaved with such sobriety, so much parental affection and greatness of mind, that Tiberius seemed not to have judged erroneously in choosing to die for so valuable a woman. For though Ptolemy king of Egypt paid his addresses to her, and offered her a share in his throne, she refused him. During her widowhood she lost all her children except three, one daughter who was married to Scipio the Younger, and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose Lives we are now writing. These Cornelia brought up with so much care, that though they were indisputably of the noblest family, and had the happiest disposition of all the Roman youth, yet education was allowed to have contributed still more than nature to their perfection.

As in the statues and pictures of Castor and Pollux, notwithstanding their general resemblance, there yet is a difference between the make of him who delighted in the cestus, and of the other whose province was horsemanship; so while these young men strongly resembled each other in point of valour, of temperance, of liberality, of eloquence, and of magnanimity, there still appeared in their actions and political conduct no small dissimilarity. This difference it may not be amiss, before we proceed farther, to explain.

In the first place, Tiberius had a mildness in his look, and a composure in his whole behaviour; Caius, great vehemence and fire. So that when they

<sup>2</sup> Cicero (ib., and ii. 29.) relates this story from the memoirs of Caius the son of Tiberius Gracchus.

spoke in public, Tiberius showed considerable modesty of action, and did not shift his place; whereas Caius was the first of the Romans, who in addressing the people moved from one end of the Rostra to the other, and threw his gown off his shoulder<sup>3</sup>. Thus it is related of Cleon, of Athens, that he was the first public speaker, who threw back his robe and smote upon his thigh. The oratory of Caius was strongly impassioned, and calculated to inspire terror; that of Tiberius was of a gentler kind, and chiefly adapted to excite pity.

The language of Tiberius was chastised and elaborate, that of Caius splendid and persuasive. So, in their manner of living, Tiberius was plain and frugal; Caius, when compared to other young Romans, temperate and sober, but in comparison with his brother a prodigal and an epicure. Hence Drusus objected to him, that he had bought Delphic tables<sup>4</sup> of silver only, but of most exquisite workmanship, at the rate of twelve hundred and fifty drachmas a pound.

Their tempers were no less different than their language. Tiberius was mild and gentle, Caius high-spirited and uncontrolled; insomuch that in speaking he would often be carried away by the violence of his passion, exalt his voice above the regular pitch, utter abusive expressions, and derange the whole frame of his oration. For the purpose of guarding against these excesses he ordered his servant Licinius, who was a sensible man, to stand with

<sup>3</sup> Cicero (De Orat. iii. 56.) quotes a passage from one of Caius' orations on the death of Tiberius, which strongly marks the nervous pathos of his eloquence: '*Quo me miser conferam? In Capitoliumne? at fratris sanguine redundat. An domum? Matremne ut miseram lamentantemque videam, et abjectam?*' Cicero observes, that his action was no less animated than his eloquence: '*Quæ sic à illo acta esse constabat oculis, voce, gestu, inimici ut lacrymas tenere non possent.*'

The Cleon mentioned below, is frequently introduced in the Lives of Pericles, Alcibiades, and Nicias.

<sup>4</sup> These, we suppose, were a kind of tripod.



a pitch-pipe<sup>5</sup> behind him when he spoke in public, and whenever he found him straining his voice or breaking out into anger, to give him a softer key; upon which, his violence both of tone and passion immediately abated, and he was instantly recalled to propriety.

Such was the difference between the two brothers. But in valour against their enemies, in justice to their fellow-citizens, in attention to their duty as magistrates, and in self-government with respect to pleasure, they were perfectly alike. Tiberius was nine years older than his brother; consequently, their political operations took place in different periods. This was a great disadvantage, and indeed the principal thing which prevented their success. Had they flourished together and acted in concert, such an union would have added considerably to their force, and perhaps might have rendered it irresistible. We must, therefore, speak of each separately; and we shall begin with the eldest.

Tiberius, as he grew toward manhood, acquired so extraordinary a reputation, that he was admitted into the college of the augurs, rather on account of his virtue than his high birth. Of the excellence of his character we have, likewise, the following proof. Appius Claudius who had been honoured both with the consulate and the censorship, whose merit had raised him to the rank of president of the senate, and who in sense and spirit was superior to all the Romans of his time, supping one evening with the augurs at a public entertainment, addressed himself to Tiberius with great kindness, and offered him his daughter in marriage. Tiberius accepted the proposal with pleasure, and the contract being agreed upon, Appius on returning home had no sooner entered the house, than he called aloud to his wife, and

<sup>5</sup> Cicero (ib. iii. 60.) calls this *Eburnea fistula* 'an ivory pipe,' and says it was intended not only to moderate his vehemence, but also to sustain his voice, when on the decline: *quo illum aut remissum excitaret, aut contumacem revocaret.*

said; "Antistia, I have contracted our daughter  
 "Claudia." Antistia, much surprised, exclaimed,  
 "Why so suddenly? What need of such haste, un-  
 "less Tiberius Gracchus be the chosen man?"  
 Some writers,<sup>6</sup> I know, relate the same story of Tibe-  
 rius the father of the Gracchi, and Scipio Africa-  
 nus: but most historians give it, as above stated;  
 and Polybius in particular informs us, that after the  
 death of Africanus Cornelia's relations gave her to  
 Tiberius, in preference to all competitors, which is  
 a proof that her father left her disengaged.

The Tiberius, of whom we are writing, served in  
 Africa under the younger Scipio, who had married  
 his sister; and as he lived in the same tent with the  
 general, he became immediately attentive to his ge-  
 nius and powers, which were daily productive of such  
 actions as might animate a young man to virtue, and  
 attract his imitation. With these advantages Tibe-  
 rius soon excelled all of his age, in point both of dis-  
 cipline and of valour. At a siege of one of the  
 enemy's towns, he was the first that scaled the walls,  
 as we are told by Fannius<sup>7</sup>, who according to his  
 own account mounted it with him, and had a share  
 in the honour. In short Tiberius, while he staid with  
 the army, was much beloved, and as much regretted  
 when he left it.

After this expedition he was appointed quæstor,  
 and it fell to his lot to attend the consul Caius Man-  
 cinus<sup>8</sup> in the Numantian war. Mancinus did not  
 want courage, but he was one of the most unfortu-  
 nate of the Roman generals. Yet, amidst a train of  
 severe accidents and desperate circumstances, Tibe-  
 rius farther distinguished himself, not only by his  
 courage and capacity, but (what did him still more  
 honour) by his respectful behaviour to his general,

<sup>6</sup> Among these was Livy (xxxviii. 57.) Tiberius was at this time only twenty years of age.

<sup>7</sup> This Fannius, the son-in-law of Lælius, was author of a His-  
 tory, and of certain Annals which were consulted by Brutus.

<sup>8</sup> He was consul with Emilius Lepidus, A. D. C. 616.

whose misfortunes had made him forget even his own high authority. For, after having lost several important battles, he attempted to decamp in the night : the Numantians perceiving this movement seized the camp, and falling upon the fugitives made great havock of the rear. Not satisfied with this they surrounded the whole army, and drove the Romans upon impracticable ground, where there was no possibility of escape. Mancinus, now despairing of making his way sword in hand, despatched a herald to solicit a truce and conditions of peace. The Numantians however would trust no man but Tiberius, and they insisted on his being sent to treat. This they did out of regard, not only to the young man who bore so illustrious a character in the army, but to the memory of his father, who had formerly made war in Spain, and after having subdued several nations granted the Numantians a peace, which through his interest was ratified at Rome, and faithfully observed. Tiberius was, accordingly, sent ; and in his negotiation he judiciously complied with some articles, in order to gain others, thus making a peace which undoubtedly saved twenty thousand Roman citizens, beside slaves and other retainers to the army.

But whatever was left in the camp, the Numantians seized and pillaged. Among the rest they carried off the books and papers, which contained the accounts of Tiberius' quæstorship. As it was a matter of importance to him to recover them, though the Roman army was already under march, he returned with a few friends to Numantia. Having called out the magistrates of the place, he desired them to restore him his books, lest his enemies should take the opportunity of accusing him, when they found that he had lost the means of defending himself. The Numantians were delighted that this accident had enabled them to oblige him, and invited him to enter their city. As he stood hesitating, they drew nearer, and taking him by the hand earnestly entreated him no longer to look upon them as ene-

mies, but to rank them among his friends, and to place confidence in them as such. Tiberius thought it best to comply, both for the sake of his books, and through fear of offending them by an appearance of distrust. Accordingly he went into the town with them, where the first thing they did was to provide a little collation, and to beg he would partake of it. Afterward they returned him his books, and desired he would take whatever else he chose among the spoils. He declined accepting any thing however except some frankincense, to be used in the public sacrifices, and at his departure embraced them with great cordiality.

Upon his return to Rome, he found that the whole business of the peace was considered in an obnoxious and dishonourable light. In this danger, the relations and friends of the soldiers he had brought off, who made a very considerable part of the people, joined to support Tiberius; imputing all the disgrace of what had been done to the general, and insisting that the quæstor had saved so many citizens. The generality of the citizens however would not suffer the peace to stand; but demanded that, in this case, the example of their ancestors should be followed; who, when their generals thought themselves happy in getting out of the hands of the Samnites, by agreeing to such a league, had delivered them naked to the enemy<sup>9</sup>. The quæstors likewise and tribunes, and all who had been concerned in concluding the peace, they sent back in the same condition, and devolved entirely upon them the breach both of the treaty and of the oath that should have confirmed it.

Upon this occasion, the people showed their affection and regard for Tiberius in a remarkable man-

<sup>9</sup> This was about 183 years before, at the *Bucca Candina*, B. C. 321. The generals sent back were the consuls *Veturius Calvinus* and *Posthumius Albinus*. (L.) *Mancinus* himself was the proposer of the measure now adopted, but the *Numantians* sent him back again.

ner; for they decreed, that the consul should be delivered up to the Numantians naked and in chains, but that all the rest should be spared for Tiberius' sake. Scipio, who had considerable authority and interest at that time in Rome, seems to have contributed to the procuring of this decree. He was blamed notwithstanding for not having saved Mancinus, or used his best endeavours to get the peace with the Numantians ratified, which would not have been granted at all, had it not been on account of his friend and relation Tiberius. Many of these complaints, however, seem to have arisen from the ambitious and excessive zeal of Tiberius' friends, and the sophists whom he had about him, and the difference between him and Scipio was far from terminating in irreconcilable enmity. Nay, Tiberius, I am persuaded, would never have fallen into those misfortunes which ruined him, had Scipio been at home to assist him in his political conduct: but he was engaged in war with Numantia, when Tiberius ventured to propose his new laws. It was on the following occasion:

When the Romans in their wars made any acquisitions of lands from their neighbours, they used formerly to sell part, to add part to the public demesnes, and to distribute the rest among the necessitous citizens; reserving only a small rent to be paid by each into the treasury. But when the rich began to raise those rents, and to discharge their poor tenants if they refused to pay them, a law was made, that no man should be possessed of more than five hundred acres of land. This statute for a while restrained the avarice of the rich, and was of service to the poor, who by virtue of it remained on their lands at the old rents. Afterward, however, their wealthy neighbours took their farms from them, and held them in other names, though in time they scrupled not to claim them in their own. The poor, thus expelled, neither gave in their names readily to the levies, nor attended to the education of their chil-

dren. The consequence was, a want of freemen throughout the whole of Italy; for it was filled with slaves and barbarians, who after the dispossessing of the poorer citizens, cultivated the ground for the rich proprietors. This disorder Caius Lælius, the friend of Scipio, attempted to correct; but finding a formidable opposition from persons in power, and fearing the matter could not be decided without the sword, he gave it up. And hence he derived the surname of *Sapiens*, 'the Wise' or 'the Prudent,' for the word appears to signify both<sup>10</sup>. But Tiberius was no sooner appointed tribune of the people, than he embarked in the same enterprise; urged to it, as most authors inform us, by Diophanes the rhetorician and Blossius the philosopher; the former a Mitylenean exile, the latter a native of Cumæ in Italy and a particular friend of Antipater of Tarsus, with whom he had become acquainted at Rome, and who did him the honour to address to him some of his philosophical writings.

Some throw the blame upon his mother Cornelia, who used to reproach her sons, that she was still called the mother-in-law of Scipio, not the mother of the Gracchi. Others say, Tiberius took this rash step from a jealousy of Spurius Posthumius, who was his co-eval and rival in oratory. On returning from the wars, he found Posthumius (it seems) so much before him in point of reputation and interest with the people, that in order to recover his ground he undertook this hazardous affair, which so effectually secured him the popular attention. From his brother Caius we learn, that as Tiberius passed through Tuscany on his way to Numantia and found the country almost depopulated, there being scarcely any

<sup>10</sup> Plutarch seems here to have followed some mistaken authority. It was not this circumstance, but the abstemiousness of his life which procured for Lælius the name of the 'Wise.' *Lælius est dictus et Sapiens, quod non intelligeret quid suavisimum esset* (Cic: de Fin. ii. 8.) not, as he adds, *quia cui cor sapiat, ei non sapiat palatum; sed quia pars id duceret.*

husbandmen and shepherds except slaves from foreign and barbarous nations, he then first formed the project which plunged them into so many misfortunes. It is certain, however, that the people inflamed his spirit of enterprise and ambition by fixing up writings on the porticos, walls, and monuments, in which they implored him to restore their share of the public lands to the poor.

Yet did he not frame the law, without having consulted some of the Romans most distinguished for their virtue and authority. Among these were Crassus the chief pontiff, Mutius Scaevola the lawyer, who at that time was also consul, and Appius Claudius his own father-in-law. There never indeed was a milder statute enacted against so much injustice and oppression. For they who deserved to have been punished for their infringement on the rights of the community, and fined for holding the lands contrary to law, were to receive a compensation for giving up their groundless claims, and restoring the estates to such of the citizens as were to be relieved. But, though the reformation was conducted with so much tenderness, the people were satisfied: they were willing to overlook what was past, on condition that they might be guarded against future usurpations.

On the other hand, persons of property opposed the law out of avarice, and the lawgiver out of a spirit of resentment and malignity; endeavouring to prejudice the people against the design, as if Tiberius intended by the Agrarian law to throw every thing into disorder, and to subvert the constitution. But their attempts were vain. For, in this just and glorious cause, Tiberius exerted an eloquence which might have adorned a worse subject, and which nothing could resist. How great was he, when the people were gathered about the Rostrum, and he pleaded for the poor in such language as this! "The wild beasts of Italy have their caves and dens to retire to for repose; while the brave men, who spill their blood in her cause, have nothing left

"except air and light. Without houses, without  
 "any settled habitations, they wander from place to  
 "place with their wives and children; and their ge-  
 "nerals are but mocking, when on the eve of battle  
 "they exhort their soldiers to fight for their sepul-  
 "chres and their domestic gods. For out of such  
 "numbers there is not perhaps a single Roman, who  
 "has an altar that has belonged to his ancestors, or  
 "a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. They fight  
 "and die, in order to advance the wealth and luxury  
 "of the great; and they are called masters of the  
 "world, while they have not a foot of ground in  
 "their possession."

Such speeches as this, delivered by a man of so  
 much spirit, and flowing from a heart really interest-  
 ed in the cause, filled the people with an enthusiastic  
 fury, and none of his adversaries durst pretend to  
 answer him. Forbearing therefore the war of words,  
 they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius one of  
 the tribunes, a grave and modest young man, and an  
 intimate acquaintance of Tiberius. And although,  
 out of reverence for his friend, he at first declined  
 the task, upon a number of applications from men  
 of the first rank, he was induced to oppose him, and  
 to prevent the passing of the law. For the power of  
 the tribunes consists chiefly in their negative voice,  
 and if one of them stands out, the rest can effect  
 nothing.

Incensed by this behaviour, Tiberius dropped his  
 moderate bill, and proposed another more agreeable  
 to the commonalty, and more severe against the  
 usurpers; directing them immediately to quit the  
 lands, which they held contrary to the former laws.  
 Upon this subject, daily disputes occurred between  
 Octavius and himself on the Rostra; yet not one  
 abusive or disparaging word is said to have escaped  
 either of them, in all the heat of their debates. An  
 ingenuous disposition and liberal education indeed  
 will prevent or restrain the sallies of passion, not  
 only during the free enjoyment of the bottle, but in



the ardour of contention about points of a superior nature.

Tiberius observing that Octavius was liable to suffer by the bill, as having more land than the laws allowed, desired him to renounce his opposition, and offered at the same time to indemnify him out of his own fortune, though that was not great. This proposal being declined, Tiberius forbade all the other magistrates to exercise their functions, till the Agrarian law was passed. He likewise put his own seal upon the doors of the temple of Saturn, that the quæstors might neither bring any thing into the treasury, nor take any thing out; and he threatened to fine such of the prætors, as should attempt to disobey his commands. This created such a terror, that every department of government was at a stand. Persons of large property clad themselves in mourning, and appeared in public with all the circumstances, which they thought might excite compassion. Not satisfied with this, they conspired the death of Tiberius, and suborned assassins to destroy him. For which reason he appeared with a tuck, such as is used by robbers, which the Romans call a 'Dolon'<sup>11</sup>.

When the day appointed came, and Tiberius was summoning the people to give their suffrages, a party of the opulent ran off with the balloting vessels<sup>12</sup>, which occasioned much confusion. Tiberius, however, seemed strong enough to carry his point by force, and his partisans were preparing to have recourse to it; when Manlius and Fulvius, men of

<sup>11</sup> We find this term used by Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 664. It was a staff, containing within it a concealed poignard, and had it's name from *dolus* ('deceit').

<sup>12</sup> The original *urnæ* signifies 'an urn.' The Romans had two sorts of vessels, which they used in balloting. The first were open vessels called *ciste* or *castellæ*, which contained the ballots before they were distributed to the people; the others, with narrow necks, were called *sitellæ*, and into these the people cast their ballots. The latter were the vessels which are here said to have been carried off.

consular dignity, fell at his feet, bathed his hands with tears, and conjured him not to put his purpose in execution. He now perceived how dreadful the consequences of his attempt might be, and his reverence for those two great men had it's effect upon him; he therefore asked them, what they would advise him to do. They said, they were not capable of giving him any advice in so important an affair, and earnestly entreated him to refer it to the senate. The senate assembled to deliberate upon it, but the influence of the wealthy upon that body was such, that their debates ended in nothing.

Tiberius then adopted a measure, which was neither equitable nor moderate. He resolved to remove Octavius from the tribuneship, because there were no other means to get his law passed. He addressed him indeed in public first in a mild and friendly manner, and taking him by the hand conjured him to gratify the people, who asked nothing that was unjust, and would only receive a small recompense for the great labours and dangers which they had experienced. But Octavius absolutely refused to comply. Tiberius then declared, "That as it was not possible for two magistrates of equal authority, when they differed in such capital points, to go through the remainder of their office without coming to hostilities, he saw no other remedy but the deposing one of them." He therefore desired Octavius to take the sense of the people first with respect to himself; assuring him that he would immediately return to a private station, if the suffrages of his fellow-citizens should so determine. As Octavius rejected this proposal too, Tiberius told him plainly, that he would put the question to the people concerning him, if on farther consideration he did not alter his mind.

Upon this, he dismissed the assembly. Next day, he again convoked it; and, when he had mounted the Rostra, he made another effort to bring Octavius to compliance. But finding him inflexible, he pro-

posed a decree for depriving him of the tribuneship, and immediately put it to the vote. When out of the five and thirty tribes seventeen had given their voices for it, and there wanted only one more to reduce Octavius to a private man, Tiberius ordered them to stop, and once more applied to his colleague. He embraced him with the utmost tenderness in the sight of the people, and with the most pressing instances entreated him neither to bring such a mark of infamy upon himself, nor to expose his friend to the imputation of having promoted such severe and violent measures. It was not without emotion, that Octavius is said to have listened to these entreaties. His eyes were filled with tears, and he stood a long time silent. But when he looked toward the persons of property, who were assembled in a body, shame and the fear of losing himself in their opinion brought him back to his resolution of running all risks, and with a noble firmness he bade Tiberius do his pleasure. The bill therefore was passed, and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to drag down Octavius from the tribunal; for he employed his own freedmen as lictors. This ignominious mode of degradation rendered the case of Octavius still more pitiable. The people, notwithstanding, fell upon him; but by the assistance of those of the landed interest, who came to his defence and kept off the mob, he escaped with his life. A faithful servant of his however, who stood before him to ward off the danger, had his eyes torn out. This violence was much against the will of Tiberius, who no sooner saw the tumult rising, than he hastened down to appease it.

The Agrarian law was then confirmed, and three commissioners appointed to take a survey of the lands, and see them properly distributed. Tiberius was one of the three, his father-in-law Appius Claudius another, and his brother Caius Gracchus a third. The latter was, at that time, making the campaign under Scipio at Numantia. Tiberius, having carried these points without opposition, next filled up the

vacant tribune's seat; into which he put not a man of any note, but Mutius one of his own clients. These proceedings exceedingly exasperated the patricians, and as they dreaded the increase of his power, they took every opportunity of insulting him in the senate. When he desired, for instance (what was nothing more than customary) a tent at the public charge for his use in dividing the lands, they refused him one, though such things had been frequently granted upon much less important occasions. And on the motion of Publius Nasica, he had only nine oboli a day allowed for his expenses. Nasica, indeed, was become his avowed enemy; for he had a great estate in the public lands, and was of course unwilling to be stripped of it.

At the same time, the people were more and more enraged. One of Tiberius' friends happening to die suddenly, and malignant spots appearing upon the body, they loudly declared that the man had been poisoned. They assembled at his funeral, took the bier upon their shoulders, and carried it to the pile. There they were confirmed in their suspicions; for the corpse burst, and emitted such a quantity of corrupted humours, that it extinguished the fire. Though more fire was brought, still the wood would not burn till it was removed to another place; and it was with much difficulty at last, that the body was consumed. Hence Tiberius took occasion to increase the commonalty still more against the other party. He put on mourning, and led his children into the Forum, recommending them and their mother to the protection of the people, as giving up his own life for lost.

About this time, died Attalus<sup>13</sup> Philopator; and Eudemus of Pergamus brought his will to Rome, by

<sup>13</sup> This was Attalus III. the son of Eumenes II. and Stratonice, and the last king of Pergamus. He mounted the throne B. C. 138, and reigned somewhat more than five years. He was not, however, surnamed 'Philopator,' but 'Philometor,' and so it stands in the German MS.

which it appeared that he had left the Roman people his heirs. Tiberius, endeavouring to avail himself of this incident, immediately proposed a law; "That all the ready money which the king had left should be distributed among the citizens, in order to enable them to provide working tools, and proceed in the cultivation of their newly assigned lands. As to the cities likewise in the territories of Attalus, the senate (he said) had no right to dispose of them, but the people, and he would refer the business entirely to their judgement."

This embroiled him still farther with the senate; and one of their body, named Pompey, stood up and said, "He was next neighbour to Tiberius, and had thus an opportunity of knowing that Eudemus had brought him a royal diadem and a purple robe, for his use when he was king of Rome." Quintus Metellus said another severe thing against him; "During the censorship of your father, whenever he returned home after supper, the citizens put out their lights, that they might not appear to indulge themselves at unseasonable hours; but you, at a late hour, have some of the meanest and most audacious of the people about you with torches in their hands." And Titus Annius a man of no character in point of morals, but an acute disputant and remarkable for the subtilty both of his questions and his answers, one day challenged Tiberius, and offered to prove him guilty of a heinous offence in having deposed one of his colleagues, whose person by the laws was sacred and inviolable. This proposition raised a tumult in the audience, and Tiberius immediately went out and summoned an assembly of the people, designing to accuse Annius of the indignity which he had offered him. Annius made his appearance, but knowing himself greatly inferior both in eloquence and reputation, he had recourse

\* Probably from the public hall, where he supped with his colleagues.

to his old art, and requested leave only to ask him a single question before the business was brought on. Tiberius consenting, and silence being obtained, Annius said; "If you should be seeking to fix a mark of disgrace and infamy upon me, and I should appeal to one of your colleagues and he should come to my assistance, and you should be provoked at his interference, would you deprive him of his office?" This question, it is said, so puzzled Tiberius, that with all his readiness of speech and his assurance he could make no answer.

He therefore, for the present, dismissed the assembly. He perceived however that the step which he had taken, in deposing a tribune, had offended not only the patricians, but the people also; for by such a precedent he appeared to have robbed that high office of it's dignity, which till then had been preserved in the utmost security and honour. In consequence of this reflexion, he again called the commons together, and made a speech to them, from which it may not be amiss to give an extract, as a specimen of the power and strength of his eloquence: "The person of a tribune, I acknowledge, is sacred and inviolable, because he is consecrated to the people, and takes their interests under his protection. But when he deserts those interests, and becomes an oppressor of the people; when he retrenches their privileges, and takes away their liberty of voting, by those acts he deposes himself, for he no longer fulfils the end of his appointment. Otherwise, if a tribune should even demolish the Capitol, and burn the docks and naval stores, his person could not be touched. A man, who should do such things as those, might still be a tribune, though a vile one; but he, who diminishes the privileges of the people, ceases to be a tribune of the people. Does it not shock you to think, that a tribune should be able to imprison a consul; and the people not have it in their power to deprive a tribune of his authority, when he uses it against

“those by whom it was conferred? For the tri-  
 “bunes, as well as the consuls, are elected by the  
 “people. Kingly government seems to compre-  
 “hend all authority in itself, and kings are conse-  
 “crated with the most awful ceremonies: yet the  
 “citizens expelled Tarquin, when his administration  
 “became iniquitous; and for the offence of one man  
 “the ancient government, under the auspices of  
 “which Rome was erected, was entirely abolished.  
 “What is there in Rome so sacred and venerable  
 “as the vestal virgins, who keep the perpetual fire?  
 “Yet, if any of them transgresses the rules of her  
 “order, she is buried alive. For they, who are  
 “guilty of impiety against the gods, lose that sacred  
 “character, which through the gods alone they pos-  
 “sess. So a tribune, who injures the people, can be  
 “no longer sacred and inviolable on the people’s  
 “account. He destroys that power, in which alone  
 “his strength resides. If it be just for him to be in-  
 “vested with the tribunitial authority by a majority  
 “of tribes, is it not more just for him to be deposed  
 “by the suffrages of them all? What is more sacred  
 “and inviolable than the offerings in the temples of  
 “the gods? Yet no one pretends to hinder the peo-  
 “ple from making use of them, or removing them  
 “wherever they please. And indeed that the tri-  
 “bune’s office is not inviolable or irremoveable ap-  
 “pears hence, that several have voluntarily laid it  
 “down, or have been discharged at their own re-  
 “quest.” These were the heads of Tiberius’ de-  
 fence.

His friends, however, sensible of the menaces of  
 his enemies and their combination to destroy him,  
 were of opinion that he ought to make interest to get  
 the tribuneship continued to him another year. For  
 this purpose he devised additional laws, in order to se-  
 cure the commonalty on his side; viz. that for shorten-  
 ing the time of military service, and that for granting  
 in appeal from the judges to the people. The bench  
 of judges at that time consisted exclusively of sena-

tors, but he ordered an equal number of senators and knights; though it must be confessed, that his taking every possible method to reduce the power of the patricians savoured more of obstinacy and resentment, than of a regard for justice and the public good.

When the day came for putting it to the vote whether or not these laws should be ratified, Tiberius and his party, perceiving that their adversaries were the strongest (for the whole of the people did not attend), spun out the time in altercations with the other tribunes, and at last he adjourned the assembly to the day following. In the mean time he entered the Forum with all the marks of distress, and with tears in his eyes applied to the citizens, assuring them, "He was afraid that his enemies would demolish his house, and take his life before the next morning." This affected them so much, that numbers erected tents before his door, and guarded him throughout the night.

At day-break, the person who had the care of the chickens which they use in augury brought them, and set meat before them; but they would none of them come out of their pen, though the man shook it very much, except one, and that one would not eat<sup>15</sup>; it only raised up it's left wing, and stretched out it's leg, and then went in again. This reminded Tiberius of a former ill omen. He had a helmet, which he wore in battle, finely ornamented and remarkably magnificent; two serpents, which had privately crept into it, laid their eggs and hatched in it. Such a bad presage made him more afraid of the other given by the birds. Yet he set out for the Capitol, as soon as he understood that the people were assembled there. But in going out of his house he stumbled upon the threshold, and struck it with so much violence, that the nail of his great toe was bro-

<sup>15</sup> When the chickens eat greedily, it was deemed a sign of good fortune. See Cic. De Div. ii. 51.



ken, and the blood flowed from the wound. When he had proceeded a little on his way, he observed on his left-hand two ravens fighting on the top of a house; and though he was attended, on account of his dignity, by numbers of people, a stone which one of the ravens threw down fell close by his foot. This staggered the boldest of his partisans. But Blossius<sup>16</sup> of Cumæ, one of his train, said; "It would be an insupportable disgrace if Tiberius the son of Gracchus, the grandson of Scipio Africanus, and the protector of the people of Rome, should through fear of a raven disappoint that people, when they called him to their assistance. His enemies," he assured him, "would not be satisfied with laughing at this false step; they would represent him to the commons, as having already taken upon himself all the insolence of a tyrant." At the same time, several messengers from his friends in the Capitol came and desired him to make haste, for every thing (they told him) went there according to his wish.

At first, indeed, there was a most promising appearance. When the assembly saw him at a distance, they expressed their joy by the loudest acclamations; on his approach they received him with the utmost cordiality, and formed a circle about him, to keep off all strangers. Mutius then began to call over the tribes in order to proceed to business; but nothing could be done in the usual form, on account of the disturbance made by the populace, who were still pressing forward. In the mean time, Fulvius<sup>17</sup> Flaccus a senator got upon an eminence, and knowing he could not be heard, made a sign with his hand that he had something to say to Tiberius in private. Tiberius having ordered the people to make way, Flaccus with much difficulty got up to him, and informed him, "That those of the landed interest had

<sup>16</sup> In the printed text it is 'Blastus;' but one of the MSS. gives 'Blossius,' and all the translators have followed it.

<sup>17</sup> Not 'Flavius,' as it is in the printed text.

“applied to the consul, while the senate was sitting ;  
 “and as they could not bring that magistrate into  
 “their views, they had resolved to despatch Tiberius  
 “themselves, and for that purpose had armed a  
 “number of their friends and their slaves.”

Tiberius no sooner communicated this intelligence to those about him, than they tucked up their gowns, seized the halberts with which the serjeants kept off the crowd, broke them, and took the pieces to ward off any assault that might be made. Such as were at a distance, much surprised at this incident, inquired the reason of it ; and Tiberius, finding they could not hear him, touched his head with his hand, to signify the danger he was in. His adversaries seeing this ran to the senate, and informed them that Tiberius demanded the diadem, alleging that gesture as a proof of it.

This raised a great commotion. Nasica called upon the consul to defend the commonwealth, and destroy the tyrant. The consul mildly answered, “That he would not begin to use violence, neither  
 “would he put any citizen to death who was not  
 “legally condemned ; but if Tiberius should either  
 “persuade, or force, the people to decree any thing  
 “contrary to the constitution, he would take care  
 “to annul it.” Upon which Nasica started up, and said, “Since the consul gives up his country, let all  
 “who choose to support the laws follow me.” So saying, he covered his head with the skirt of his robe and then advanced to the Capitol. Those who followed him wrapped each his gown about his hand, and made their way through the crowd. On account of their superior quality, indeed, they met with no resistance ; on the contrary, the people trampled upon one another to get out of their way. Their attendants had brought clubs and bludgeons with them from home, and the patricians themselves seized the feet of the benches, which the populace had broken in their flight. Thus armed, they made toward Tiberius, knocking down such as stood before him.

These being killed or dispersed, Tiberius likewise fled. One of his enemies laid hold on his gown; but he let it go, and continued his flight in his undergarment. He happened, however, to stumble and fall over some of the killed. As he was recovering himself, Publius Satureius one of his colleagues came up openly, and struck him on the head with the foot of a stool. The second blow was given him by Lucius Rufus, who afterward valued himself upon it as a glorious exploit. Above three hundred more lost their lives by clubs and stones, but not a single man by the sword<sup>18</sup>.

This is said to have been the first sedition in Rome, since the expulsion of the kings, in which the blood of any citizen was shed. All the rest, though neither small in themselves nor about matters of trifling consequence, were appeased by mutual concessions; the senate giving up something on one side through fear of the people, and the people on the other out of respect for the senate. Had Tiberius been treated with moderation, it is probable that he would have compromised matters in a much easier way; and certainly he might have been reduced without their depriving him of his life, for he had not more than three thousand men about him. But the conspiracy was formed against him, it seems, rather to satisfy the resentment and malignity of the rich, than for the reasons held out to the public. A strong proof of this we have in their cruel and abominable treatment of his dead body. For, notwithstanding the entreaties of his brother, they would not permit him to take away the corpse and bury it in the night, but threw it into the river with the other carcasses. Nor was this all: they banished some of his friends without form of trial, and took others and put them to death. Among the latter was Diophanes, the rhetorician. One Caius Billius they shut up in a cask with vipers, and other serpents, and left him to perish

in that cruel manner. As for Blossius of Cumæ, he was carried before the consuls, and being interrogated about the late proceedings declared, that he had never failed to execute whatever Tiberius commanded<sup>19</sup>. "What then," said Nasica, "if Tiberius had ordered thee to burn the Capitol, would'st thou have done it?" At first he eluded the question, and said, "Tiberius would never have given me such an order:" But when many frequently repeated the same inquiry, he replied, "In that case I should have thought it perfectly right; for Tiberius would never have laid such a command upon me, if it had not been for the advantage of the people of Rome." He escaped however with his life, and afterward repaired to Aristonicus<sup>20</sup> in Asia; where finding that prince's affairs entirely ruined, he laid violent hands on himself.

The senate now, desirous to reconcile the people to these acts of theirs, no longer opposed the Agrarian law; but permitted them to elect another commissioner, in the room of Tiberius, for dividing the lands. In consequence of which they chose Publius

<sup>19</sup> Lælius, in the Treatise written by Cicero under that name (*De Anic.* xi.), gives a different account of the matter: 'Blossius,' he says, 'after the murder of Tiberius, came to him, while he was in conference with the consuls Popilius Lænas and Publius Rupilius, and earnestly implored pardon; alleging in his defence that, such was his veneration for Tiberius, he could not refuse to do any thing which he desired.' 'If then,' said Lælius, 'he had ordered you to set fire to the Capitol, would you have done it?' 'That,' replied Blossius, 'he would never have ordered me to do; but, if he had, I should have obeyed him.' Blossius does not upon this occasion appear, as Plutarch represents him, to have been under a judicial examination.

<sup>20</sup> Aristonicus was the bastard brother of Attalus; and being highly offended at him, for having bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, he attempted to gain possession of it by arms, and made himself master of several towns. The Romans, the second year after the death of Tiberius, sent against him Cræsus the consul, whom he defeated and took prisoner. The year following, however, Aristonicus was defeated in his turn, and taken by Perpenna; and afterward strangled by order of the Senate. See Justin xxxvi. 4., Flor. ii. 20.

Crassus, a relation of the Gracchi; for Caius Gracchus had married his daughter Licinia. Cornelius Nepos indeed says it was not the daughter of Crassus, but of that Brutus, who was honoured with a triumph for his conquests in Lusitania: the generality of historians, however, confirm our present statement. Nevertheless, the people were still much concerned at the loss of Tiberius, and it was plain that they only waited for an opportunity of revenge. Nasica was now threatened with an impeachment. The senate therefore, dreading the consequence, sent him into Asia, though there was no need of him there. For the people, whenever they met him, did not in the least suppress their resentment: on the contrary, with all the violence of hatred they abused him as an execrable wretch, a tyrant that had defiled the holiest and most awful temple in Rome with the blood of a magistrate, whose person ought to have been sacred and inviolable.

For this reason Nasica privately quitted Italy, though by his office as chief pontiff he was obliged to attend the principal sacrifices; and after wandering a while from place to place in a foreign country, died at Pergamus. Neither is it to be wondered at, that the people had so unconquerable a dislike to him: since Scipio Africanus himself, who seems to have been one of the greatest favourites of the Romans, as well as to have had a powerful claim to their regard, was near forfeiting the popular affection; because when the news of Tiberius' death was brought to Numantia, he had expressed himself in the Homeric line,

So perish all, that in such crimes engage<sup>21</sup>.

And subsequently, when Caius and Fulvius<sup>22</sup> de-

<sup>21</sup> In Minerva's speech to Jupiter. (Odyss. i. 47.)

<sup>22</sup> This trait is ascribed to Cato the tribune by Paterc. ii. 4., and Val. Max. vi. 2.

\* The Life of Scipio, mentioned below, is unfortunately lost.\*

manded of him in an assembly of the people, what he thought of Tiberius' death; by his answer he gave them to understand, that he was far from having approved his proceedings. After this, the commons constantly interrupted him whenever he spoke in public, though they had never before offered him any such affront; while, on the other hand, he scrupled not to treat them with very severe language. But these things we have related at large in the Life of Scipio.

## II. CAIUS GRACCHUS.

**W**HETHER it was that Caius Gracchus feared his enemies, or sought to render them more obnoxious to the people, he at first deserted the Forum, and kept close in his own house; like one who was either sensible how much his family was reduced, or who intended to make public business no more his object: so that some scrupled not to affirm he disapproved, and even detested, his brother's administration. He was indeed yet very young, not being so old as Tiberius by nine years; and Tiberius at his death was not quite thirty. In a short time, however, it appeared that he had a strong dislike, not only to idleness and effeminacy, but also to intemperance and avarice. And he improved his powers of oratory, as if he deemed them the wings, upon which he must rise to the high offices of state. These circumstances proved, that he would not long continue inactive.

In the defence of one of his friends named Vettius he exerted so much eloquence, that the people were charmed beyond expression, and borne away with all the transports of enthusiasm. Upon this occasion he showed, that other orators were no more than children in comparison. The nobility had all their former alarms renewed, and they began to take mea-

suers among themselves to prevent the advancement of Caius to the tribunitial power.

It happened to fall to his lot to attend Orestes<sup>23</sup> the consul, in the capacity of quæstor, in Sardinia. This gave his enemies great pleasure. Caius himself was not displeased at the appointment; for he was of a military turn, and had as good talents for the camp as for the bar. Besides, he was under some apprehension about taking a share in the administration, or appearing upon the Rostra; and at the same time he knew, that he could not resist the importunities of the people or of his friends. For these reasons, he thought himself happy in the opportunity of going abroad.

It is a common opinion, that of his own accord he became a violent demagogue, and that he was much more studious than Tiberius to make himself popular. But this is not the truth. On the contrary, it seems to have been rather necessity than choice, which brought him upon the public stage. For Cicero, the orator<sup>24</sup> relates, that when Caius avoided all offices in the state, and had resolved to live perfectly quiet, his brother appeared to him in a dream, and thus addressed him; "Why lingerest thou, Caius? There is no alternative. The fates have decreed us both the same life, and the same death, in vindicating the rights of the people."

In Sardinia, Caius gave a noble specimen of every virtue, eminently distinguishing himself among the other young Romans, not only in his operations against the enemy, and in acts of justice to such as submitted<sup>25</sup>, but in his respectful and obliging behaviour to the general. In temperance, simplicity of

<sup>23</sup> Lucius Aurelius Orestes was consul with Emilius Lepidus B. C. 127. So that Caius went quæstor into Sardinia, at the age of 27.

<sup>24</sup> De Div. i. 26. See also Val. Max. i. 7. 6.\*

<sup>25</sup> Thus illustrating, by anticipation, Virgil's direction to the Romans:

*Pæcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.\**

diet, and love of labour he excelled even the veterans.

There followed a severe and sickly winter in Sardinia, and the general demanded of the cities clothing for his men. But they despatched a deputation to Rome, to solicit an exemption from this burthen. The senate listened to their request, and ordered the general to devise some other method. As he was much perplexed however, upon the occasion, and the soldiers in the mean time much inconvenienced, Caius applied to the towns in person, and prevailed upon them to send the Romans a voluntary supply of clothing. News of this being carried to Rome, and the whole looking like a prelude to future attempts at popularity, the senate were much disturbed at it. Another instance of their jealousy they exhibited in their ungracious reception of the ambassadors of Micipsa, who came to acquaint them that the king their master, out of regard to Caius Gracchus, had sent their general in Sardinia a large quantity of corn. The ambassadors were turned out of the house; and the senate proceeded to decree that the private men in Sardinia should be replaced, but that Orestes should remain, in order that he might keep his quæstor with him. An account of this being brought to Caius, his anger overcame him so far, that he instantly went on board: and as he made his appearance in Rome when none expected him, he was not only censured by his enemies, but the people in general accounted it singular that the quæstor should return before his general. An information however being laid against him before the censors, he obtained permission to speak for himself; which he did so effectually, that the whole court changed their opinions, and were persuaded that he had been very much injured. For he told them, "He had served twelve campaigns, whereas he was not obliged to serve more than ten; and that in capacity of quæstor he had attended his general



"three years<sup>26</sup>, though the law would have allowed  
 "him to come home at the end of one." He was  
 the only man, he added, "who went out with a full  
 "purse, and returned with an empty one; while  
 "others, after having drank the wine which they  
 "carried out with them, brought back the vessels  
 "filled with gold and silver."

After this, his enemies adduced other charges  
 against him. They accused him of having promoted  
 disaffection among the allies, and of having been con-  
 cerned in the conspiracy of Fregellæ<sup>27</sup> which about  
 that time came to light. He cleared himself, how-  
 ever, from all suspicion; and, having fully proved  
 his innocence, offered himself to the people as a can-  
 didate for the tribuneship. The patricians united  
 their forces to oppose him; but such a number of  
 people poured in from all parts of Italy to support  
 his election, that many of them could not procure  
 lodgings, and the Campus Martius not being large  
 enough to contain them, they gave their voices from  
 the tops of houses. All that the nobility could gain  
 of the people, and all the mortification that Caius en-  
 countered, was this; instead of being returned the  
 first, as he had flattered himself he should be, he was  
 returned the fourth. But when he had entered upon  
 his office, he soon became the leading tribune; part-  
 ly by means of his eloquence, in which he was far  
 superior to all the rest, and partly on account of the  
 misfortunes of his family, which gave him an oppor-  
 tunity of bewailing the cruel fate of his brother. For  
 with whatever subject he opened his harangue, be-  
 fore he brought it to a conclusion, he invariably led  
 the people back to that idea, and at the same time  
 reminded them of the different behaviour of their

<sup>26</sup> Great part of this speech is preserved by Aulus Gellius; but  
 there Caius says, he had been quæstor only two years. *Biennium*  
*enim sui in provinciâ.* (xii, 15.)

<sup>27</sup> A city of Latium, which was destroyed by Lucius Opimius the  
 prætor, B. C. 125.

ancestors: "Your forefathers," said he, "declared war against the Falisci, in order to revenge the cause of Genucius one of their tribunes, to whom that people had given scurrilous language; and they thought capital punishment little enough for Caius Veturius, because he alone did not make way for a tribune, who was passing through the forum. Whereas you suffered Tiberius to be despatched with bludgeons before your eyes, and his dead body to be dragged by his murderers from the Capitol through the middle of the city, in order to be thrown into the river. Such of his friends likewise, as fell into their hands, were put to death without form of trial. Yet it is one of the regulations of our jurisprudence that, if any person under prosecution for a capital crime does not make his appearance, an officer is sent to his door in the morning to summon him by sound of trumpet, and the judges will never pass sentence before this public citation. So tender were our ancestors in any matter, where the life of a citizen was concerned!"

Having prepared the people by such speeches as this, for his voice was strong enough to be heard by the whole multitude, he proposed two laws. One was, "That if the people deposed any magistrate, he should from that time be incapable of bearing any public office;" the other, "That if any magistrate should banish a citizen without legal trial, the people should be authorised to take cognisance of the offence." The first of these laws plainly referred to Marcus Octavius, whom Tiberius had deprived of the tribuneship; and the second to Popilius, who in his prætorship had banished Tiberius' friends. In consequence of the latter, Popilius, afraid to stand a trial, fled out of Italy. The other bill Caius dropped, to oblige (as he said) his mother Cornelia, who interposed in Octavius' behalf. The people were perfectly satisfied; for they honoured Cornelia not only on account of her children, but of her

father. They afterward erected a statue to her, with this inscription ;

CORNELIA, THE MOTHER OF THE GRACCHI.

There are several stately and popular expressions of Caius Gracchus on record, concerning his mother. To one of her enemies he said, "Darest thou pretend to reflect on Cornelia, the mother of Tiberius?" And as that person had spent his youth in an infamous manner, he asked, "With what front can'st thou put thyself upon a footing with Cornelia? Hast thou brought children, as she has done? Yet all Rome knows, that she has lived longer than thou hast without sexual intercourse." Such was the keenness of his language; and many expressions equally severe might be collected out of his writings.

Among the laws which he procured, with a view of increasing the authority of the people and lessening that of the senate, one related to colonising and dividing among the poor the public lands. Another was in favour of the army, who were thenceforth to be clothed at the public charge without diminution of their pay, and among whom none were to serve till they were full seventeen years old. A third he caused to be enacted for the benefit of the Italian allies, who were to have the same right of voting at elections as the citizens of Rome. By a fourth the markets were regulated, and the poor enabled to buy bread-corn at a cheaper rate. A fifth had reference to the courts of judicature, and indeed contributed more than any thing else to retrench the power of the senate. For before this senators were the only judges in all causes, and upon that account their body was formidable both to the equestrian order and to the people. But to the three hundred senators he now added three hundred knights, and decreed that the judicial authority should be equally invested in the joint number.<sup>98</sup> In offering this bill he strenuously

<sup>98</sup> The authorities of all antiquity are against Plutarch in this article. Cato did not associate the knights and the senators in the

exerted himself in all respects, but there was one particular extremely remarkable: whereas the orators before him, in all their addresses to the people, had stood with their faces toward the senate-house and the Comitium, he then for the first time turned the other way (that is, toward the Forum) and continued to speak in that position ever afterward. Thus by a small alteration in the posture of his body, he indicated something very great, and as it were converted the government from an aristocratic into a democratic form<sup>29</sup>. For by this action he intimated, that all orators ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

As the people not only ratified this law, but empowered him to select the three hundred out of the equestrian order for judges, he found himself possessed of a kind of sovereign power. Even the senate, in their deliberations, were willing to listen to his advice; and he never gave them any, but such as was suitable to their dignity. That wise and moderate decree (for instance) was of his suggesting, concerning the corn which Fabius, when proprætor in Spain, sent from that country. Caius persuaded the senate to sell the corn, and to return the money to the Spanish states; and at the same time to censure Fabius, for having rendered the Roman government odious and insupportable to the people of that nation. This gained him great respect and favour in the provinces.

He procured other decrees likewise for sending out colonies, for making roads, and for building public granaries. In all these matters he was appointed supreme director; and yet he was far from accounting so much business a fatigue. On the contrary, he

judicial power, but vested that power in the knights exclusively; and they continued to enjoy it, till the consulship of Servilius Cæpio, for the space of sixteen or seventeen years. Velleius, Asconius, Appian, Livy, and Cicero himself sufficiently prove this.

<sup>29</sup> For similar examples of the important effects produced by a change of situation, see the Lives of Themistocles, and of Camillus, l. 341. 408.\*

applied to the whole with as much activity, and despatched it with as much ease, as if there had been only one thing for him to manage; so that they, who both hated and feared the man, were struck with his amazing industry and the celerity of his operations. The people were charmed to see him followed by such numbers of architects, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, military men, and men of letters. These were all kindly received; yet, amidst his civilities he preserved a dignity, addressing each according to his capacity and station: by which he evinced the injustice of those, who censured him as a violent and overbearing man. For he had even a more popular manner in conversation, and in business, than in his addresses from the Rostrum.

The work, in which he principally exerted himself, was that of the public roads: in these he paid a regard to beauty, as well as to use. They were drawn in a straight line through the country, and either paved with hewn stone, or made of a binding sand brought thither for that purpose. When he met with dells, or other deep holes made by land-floods, he either filled them up with rubbish, or laid bridges over them; so that being levelled, and brought to a perfect parallel on both sides, they afforded a regular and elegant prospect throughout the whole. Besides, he divided all the roads into miles, of nearly eight furlongs each, and set up pillars of stone to mark the divisions. He likewise erected other stones at proper distances on each side of the way to assist travellers, who rode without servants, to mount their horses.

The people extolled his performances, and there was no instance of their affection, that he might not have anticipated. In one of his speeches he told them, "There was one thing in particular, which he should esteem as a higher favour than all the rest, if they indulged him in it; and, if they denied it, he would not complain." By this it was imagined that he meant the consulship; and the commons expected, that he would desire to be consul and tri-

bune at the same time. When the day of election of consuls arrived, and all were waiting with anxiety to see what declaration he would make, he conducted Caius Fannius into the Campus Martius, and joined with his friends in the canvass. This greatly inclined the scale on Fannius' side, and he was immediately created consul. Caius himself likewise, without the least application or even having declared himself a candidate, merely through the zeal and affection of the people was appointed tribune the second time.

Finding however that the senate avowed their dislike of him, and that the regards of Fannius grew cold, he devised new laws to secure the people in his interest. Such were those for sending colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and for granting the Latins all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. The senate now apprehending that his power would soon become wholly uncontrollable, adopted a new and unprecedented method of drawing the people from him, by gratifying them in every object of their wishes, however contrary to the true interests of the state.

Among the colleagues of Caius Gracchus, was one named Livius Drusus; a man, who in birth and education did not yield to any of the Romans, and who in point of eloquence and wealth might vie with the greatest and most powerful men of his time. To him the nobility applied, exhorting him to set himself up against Caius, and join them in opposing him; not in the way of force, or in aught that might offend the commons, but in directing all his measures to please them and granting them things, which it would have been honourable at the hazard of their utmost resentment to withhold.

Drusus agreed to list in the service of the senate, and to apply all the power of his office to promote their views. He therefore proposed laws, which had nothing in them either creditable or advantageous to the community. His sole design was, to undo Caius

in flattering and pleasing the multitude, and for this purpose he contended with him, like a comedian upon a stage<sup>30</sup>. Thus the senate plainly disclosed, that it was not so much the measures of Caius as the man they disapproved, and that they were resolved to take every method to humble or destroy him. For when he obtained a decree for sending out two colonies only, which were to consist of some of the most deserving citizens, they accused him of ingratiating himself by undue methods with the plebeians. But when Drusus sent out twelve, and selected three hundred of the meanest of the people for each, they patronised the entire scheme. When Caius divided the public lands among the poor citizens, on condition that they should pay a small rent into the treasury, they inveighed against him as a flatterer of the populace; but Drusus had their praise, for discharging the lands even of that acknowledgement. Caius procured the Latins the privilege of voting as citizens of Rome, and the patricians were offended; Drusus, on the contrary, was abetted by them in a law for exempting the Latin soldiers from being flogged, though upon service, for any misdemeanor. In the mean time, Drusus asserted in all his speeches that the senate, out of their great regard for the commons, had urged him to propose those advantageous decrees. This was the only benefit accruing from his manœuvres; for, by these arts, the people became better affected to the senate. Before, they had suspected and hated the leaders of that body; but Drusus appeased their resentment, and removed their aversion, by assuring them that the patricians had been the prime movers of all these popular laws.

<sup>30</sup> This was anciently, in many instances, a serious competition. In one of them Alexander the Great was so deeply interested, as we read in his Life (IV. 235.) that he declared, he would have given half his kingdom sooner than have seen his favourite surpassed; and, in the times of the latter Roman emperors, it was carried to a most dreadful height. See Gibbon, Ed. 8vo., vii. 76\*

What contributed most to satisfy the people, as to the sincerity of Drusus' regard and the purity of his intentions, was that in all his edicts he appeared not to have the least view to his own interest. For he employed others as commissioners for planting the new colonies, and if an affair of money was in question, he declined all personal concern with it; whereas Caius, in the greatest and most important matters of that kind, chose to place himself at the head.

Rubrius, one of his colleagues, having procured an order for rebuilding and colonising Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, it fell to the lot of Caius to execute that commission, and in pursuance thereof he sailed to Africa<sup>31</sup>. Drusus took advantage of his absence to gain more ground upon him, and to establish himself in the favour of the people. To lay an information against Fulvius, he thought would be very conducive to this end.

Fulvius was a particular friend of Caius, and his assistant in the distribution of the lands. At the same time he was a factious man, and known to be upon ill terms with the senate. Others, beside the patricians, suspected him of raising commotions among the allies, and of privately exciting the Italians to revolt. These things, indeed, were rumoured without evidence or proof; but Fulvius himself gave strength to the report, by his quarrelsome and incorrect conduct. Caius, as his acquaintance, incurred his share of the dislike, and this was one of the principal things that brought on his ruin.

Besides, when Scipio Africanus died<sup>32</sup> without any previous sickness, and (as we have observed in his Life) there appeared marks of violence upon his body, most people laid it to the charge of Fulvius, who was his avowed enemy, and had that very day abused him from the Rostrum. Neither was Caius himself unsuspected. Yet so execrable a crime as

<sup>31</sup> B. C. 123.

<sup>32</sup> He died B. C. 129, aged 56.\*



this, committed against the first and most illustrious man in Rome, escaped with impunity; nay, it was not even made a subject of inquiry. For the people prevented any cognisance of it from being taken, out of fear for Caius, lest upon a strict inquisition he should have been found accessory to the murder. But this happened some time before.

While Caius was employed in Africa in the re-establishment of Carthage, the name of which he changed to Junonia<sup>33</sup>, he was interrupted by several inauspicious omens. The staff of the first standard, between the violent efforts of the wind to tear it away, and those of the ensign to retain it, was snapped asunder. Another storm of wind blew the sacrifices from the altars, and bore them beyond the bounds marked out for the city; and the wolves came and seized the marks themselves, and carried them to a great distance. Caius however brought every thing under good regulations in the space of seventy days, and then returned to Rome, where he understood that Fulvius was hard pressed by Drusus, and affairs demanded his presence. For Lucius Opimius<sup>34</sup>, who was of the patrician party and very powerful in the senate, had lately, through the opposition of Caius and his support of Fannius, been unsuccessful in his application for the consulship; but now his interest was greatly strengthened, and it was supposed that he would certainly be chosen the following year. It was expected likewise, that the consulship would enable him to ruin Caius, whose interest was already upon the decline. By this time, indeed, the people were cloyed with indulgence; because there were many

<sup>33</sup> *Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam*

*Postulavit coluisse Samo.*

(Virg. Æn. i. 16.)

In these lines Virgil, who wrote them nearly a century after this period, seems only to have adopted the popular tradition.

<sup>34</sup> In the present text it is 'Hostilius,' but it should be 'Opimius;' for he was consul the year following with Q. Fabius Maximus. Plutarch himself calls him 'Opimius' a little below: and this name, likewise, occurs in one of the MSS.

beside Caius, who flattered them in all the measures of administration, and the senate witnessed it with pleasure.

On his return, he removed his lodgings from the Palatine hill to the neighbourhood of the Forum; in which he had a view to popularity, as many of the meanest and most indigent of the commonalty dwelt there. After this, he proposed the rest of his laws, in order to their being ratified by the suffrages of the people. The populace flocking to him from every quarter, the senate persuaded the consul Fannius to command all persons who were not Romans by birth to leave the city; upon this strange and unusual proclamation, that none of the allies or friends of the republic should remain in Rome, or though citizens be permitted to vote, Caius in his turn published articles of impeachment against the consul, and at the same time declared that he would protect the allies, if they would stay. He did not, however, perform his promise. On the contrary, he suffered the consul's lictors to drag away a person before his eyes, who was connected with him by the ties of hospitality, without affording him the least assistance; whether it was, that he feared to show how much his strength was diminished, or did not choose (as he alleged) to give his enemies, who only sought a pretence for it, an opportunity of having recourse to the sword.

He happened, moreover, to be at variance with his colleagues. The reason was this: there was a show of gladiators to be exhibited to the people in the Forum, and the chief part of the magistrates had caused scaffolds to be erected around the place, in order to let them out for hire. Caius insisted, that they should be taken down, in order that the poor might see the exhibition without paying for it. As none of the proprietors regarded his orders, he waited till the night preceding the show, and then went with his own workmen, and demolished the scaffolds. Next day, the populace saw the place

quite cleared of them, and of course admired him as a man of superior spirit. But his colleagues were highly offended at his violent temper and measures. This seems to have been the cause of his miscarriage in his application for a third tribuneship; for he had a majority of voices, it seems, but his colleagues are said to have procured a fraudulent and unjust return. Be that as it may, for it was a matter of some doubt, it is certain that he did not bear his disappointment with patience, but when he saw his adversaries laugh, he told them with too much insolence; "Their laugh was of the sardonic<sup>35</sup> kind, for they did not perceive how much their actions were eclipsed by his."

After Opimius was elected consul, he prepared to repeal many of Caius' laws, and to annul his establishment at Carthage, with a view of provoking him to some act of violence, and of thus gaining an opportunity to destroy him. This treatment he bore for some time; but afterward at the instigation of his friends, and of Fulvius in particular, he began to raise an opposition once more against the consul. Some say, his mother upon this occasion entered into the intrigues of the party, and having privately taken some strangers into pay, sent them to Rome in the disguise of reapers; and these things, they assert, are enigmatically hinted at in her letters to her son. But others affirm, that Cornelia was much offended by these measures.

When the day came, upon which Opimius was to get those laws repealed, both parties early in the morning posted themselves in the Capitol; and after

<sup>35</sup> It is not easy to see the propriety of this expression, as it is here used. The "sardonic laugh" was an involuntary distention of the muscles of the mouth, occasioned by a poisonous plant; and all those, who died of this poison, had a smile upon their countenances. Hence it came to signify, forced or affected laughter; but why the laughter of Gracchus' opponents should be called forced or 'sardonic,' because they did not perceive his superiority, does not appear. It might more properly have been so called, if they did perceive it. If a species of unreasonable laughing indeed may be called 'sardonic,' it is not improper.

the consul had sacrificed, Quintus Antyllius one of his lictors, who was carrying out the entrails of the victims, cried to Fulvius and his friends; "Stand off, ye crew of traitors, and make way for honest men." By some writers we are told that, along with this scurrilous language, he stretched his naked arm toward them in a form expressive of the utmost contempt: upon which they immediately stabbed him with long stiles, said to have been made expressly for this very purpose.

The people were much chagrined at this act of violence. As for the two chiefs, they made very different reflexions upon the event. Caius was concerned at it, and reproached his partisans with having given their enemies the pretext, which they had long desired. Opimius rejoiced at the opportunity, and excited the people to revenge. But, for the present, they were dispersed by a heavy rain.

At an early hour the next day, the consul assembled the senate; and while he was addressing them within, others exposed the corpse of Antyllius naked on a bier without, and (as it had been previously concerted) carried it through the Forum to the senate-house, making loud acclamations all the way. Opimius knew the whole farce, but pretended to be much surprised. The senate went out, and placing themselves round the corpse expressed their grief and indignation, as if some dreadful misfortune had befallen them. This scene however excited only hatred and detestation in the breasts of the people, who could not but remember that the nobility had killed Tiberius Gracchus in the Capitol, though a tribune, and thrown his body into the river; and yet now when Antyllius a mere serjeant, who possibly did not deserve quite so severe a punishment, but by his impertinence had brought it upon himself, lay exposed in the Forum, the senate of Rome stood weeping about him, and then attended the hireling to his funeral, with no other view than to procure the death of the only remaining protector of the people.

Upon their return to the house, they charged Opimius the consul, by a formal decree, to take every possible method for the preservation of the commonwealth and the destruction of the tyrants. He therefore ordered the patricians to arms, and each of the knights to attend with two servants well armed the next morning. Fulvius on the other hand prepared himself, and drew together a great crowd of people.

Caius, as he returned from the Forum, stood a long time looking upon his father's statue, and after having given vent to his sorrow in some sighs and tears, retired without uttering a word. Many of the plebeians, who saw this, were moved with compassion; and declaring they should be the most dastardly of beings, if they abandoned such a man to his enemies, repaired to his house to guard him, and passed the night before his door. This they did in a very different manner from those, who attended Fulvius upon the same occasion. These passed their time in noise and riot, in carousing and empty threats; Fulvius himself being the first man that was intoxicated, and giving into many absurd expressions and actions unsuitable to his years: whereas those about Caius were silent, as in a time of public calamity; and, with a thoughtful regard to what was yet to come, kept watch and took rest by turns.

Fulvius slept so soundly after his wine, that it was with difficulty they awoke him at break of day. He and his company then armed themselves with the Gallic spoils, which he had brought off in his consulship upon his conquering that people; and thus accounted they sallied out, with loud menaces, to seize the Aventine hill. As for Caius he would not arm, but went out in his gown, as if he had been going upon business into the Forum; only he had a small dagger under it.

At the gate his wife threw herself at his feet, and taking hold of him with one hand, and of her son with the other, thus expressed herself: "You do not now leave me, my dear Caius, as formerly to go to

"the Rostra in the capacity of tribune or lawgiver;  
 "neither am I sending you out to a glorious war,  
 "where if the common lot should fall to your share,  
 "my distress might at least have the consolation of  
 "honour. You expose yourself to the murderers of  
 "Tiberius, unarmed indeed, as a man should go who  
 "had rather suffer than commit violence, but throw-  
 "ing away your life without any advantage to the  
 "community. Faction reigns; outrage and the  
 "sword are the only measures of justice. Had your  
 "brother fallen before Numantia, the truce would  
 "have restored us his body; whereas now perhaps I  
 "shall have to go a suppliant to some river or to the  
 "sea, to be shown where your remains may be found.  
 "For what confidence, after Tiberius' assassination,  
 "can we place either in the laws, or in the gods?"

When Licinia had poured out these lamentations, Caius disengaged himself as quietly as he could from her arms, and walked forward with his friends in deep silence. She caught at his gown, but in the attempt fell to the ground, and lay a long time speechless. At last, her servants seeing her in that condition took her up, and carried her to her brother Crassus.

Fulvius, when all the party was assembled, listened to Caius' advice, and sent his younger son into the Forum equipped like a herald<sup>36</sup>. He was a youth of most engaging appearance; and he approached with great modesty, and tears in his eyes, to propose terms of accommodation to the consul and the senate. Upon this, many were disposed to hearken to the proposal; but Opimius said, "The criminals ought not to treat by heralds, but come in person to make their submission to the senate, and surrender themselves to justice before they interceded for mercy." At the same time, he bade the young man return with an account to this purport, or not to return at all.

Caius, it is said, advised that they should go, and

<sup>36</sup> Literally, 'with a caduceus, or herald's wand, in his hand.'

endeavour to reconcile themselves to the senate. But, as none of the rest acceded to that project, Fulvius sent his son again with a renewal of their former propositions. Opimius, who was in haste to begin hostilities, immediately took the young man into custody, and marched against Fulvius with a numerous body of infantry, and a company of Cretan archers. The latter galled their adversaries much, and threw them into such confusion that they took to flight. Fulvius hid himself in an old neglected bath, where he was soon found, and with his eldest son put to the sword. Caius was not seen to lift his hand in the fray. On the contrary, he expressed the utmost uneasiness at their coming to such extremities, and retired into the temple of Diana. There, he would have despatched himself; but he was prevented by Pomponius and Licinius, the most faithful of his friends, who took away his poignard, and persuaded him to try the alternative of flight. Upon this occasion, he is said to have kneeled down, and with uplifted hands to have prayed to the Deity of the Temple; "That the people of Rome, for their ungrateful and base desertion of him, might be slaves for ever." Most of them indeed, on promise of impunity by proclamation, openly went over to the other party.

The enemy pursued Caius with extreme eagerness, and came up with him at the Wooden bridge. His two friends<sup>37</sup>, bidding him go forward, placed themselves before it, and suffered no man to pass, till they were overpowered and slain. One of his servants, named Philocrates, accompanied Caius in his flight. All encouraged him to make the best of his way, as they do a runner in the lists; but no one assisted him or offered him a horse, though he besought them to do it, for they saw the enemy now almost upon him. He got however a little before

<sup>37</sup> Aurelius Victor mentions two of Caius' friends, who stopped the pursuit of the enemy, Pomponius at the Porta Trigemina, and Licinius at the Pons Sublicius.

them into a grove sacred to the Furies<sup>38</sup>, and there closed the scene; Philocrates first despatching him, and afterward himself. Some indeed affirm, that they both fell alive into the enemy's hands, and that the slave clung so close to his master, that they could not reach the one, till they had cut the other in pieces. We are told also that after a person, whose name is not preserved, had cut off Caius' head and was bearing away his prize, Septimuleius one of Opimius'<sup>39</sup> friends took it from him; for, at the beginning of the action, the weight in gold had been offered by proclamation either for his head, or for that of Fulvius. Septimuleius carried it to Opimius upon the point of a pike; and, when placed in the scales, it was found to weigh seventeen pounds eight ounces. For Septimuleius had added fraud to his other villainies; he had taken out the brain, and filled the cavity with molten lead. Those who brought in Fulvius' head, being persons of no note, had no reward at all.

The bodies of Caius and Fulvius and the rest of the slain, who were not fewer than three thousand, were thrown into the river. Their goods were confiscated and sold, and their wives forbidden to go into mourning. Licinia was, moreover, deprived of her dowry. The most savage cruelty was exercised upon Fulvius' younger son, who had never borne arms against them nor appeared among the combatants, but was imprisoned when he came with proposals of peace, and put to death after the battle. But neither this, nor any other instance of despotism, so sensibly touched the people, as Opimius' building a temple to Concord. For by that he appeared to claim honour for what he had done, and in some sort to

<sup>38</sup> This grove was called *Lucus Furiarum*, and was near the *Pons Sublicius*. The goddess had a high priest called *Flamen Furinalis*, and *Furinalia* or annual sacrifices. (Varro de L. L. v. See also *Rest. voc. Furinalia*.)

<sup>39</sup> Pliny (H. N. xxxiii. 8.) and Valerius Maximus say, he was an intimate acquaintance of Gracchus. *Caius Gracchus* full 12 p. 141 aged 33.



triumph in the destruction of so many citizens. Somebody therefore, in the night, wrote this line under the inscription on the temple,

Concord's pure fane is by mad Discord rear'd.

Opimius was the first consul who usurped the power of a dictator, and condemned three thousand citizens without any form of justice, beside Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus; of whom one had been honoured with the consulship and a triumph; and the other both in virtue and reputation was superior to all the men of his time.

Opimius was vile enough to suffer himself to be corrupted by money. At a subsequent period, when on an embassy to Jugurtha the Numidian, he accepted a bribe; and being called to account for it on his return in a judicial way, he had the mortification to grow old with that infamy upon him. At the same time, he was hated and execrated by the commons, who through his means had been reduced to a state of the greatest humiliation. Those commons quickly showed, how deeply they regretted and longed for the Gracchi. They erected their statues in one of the most public parts of the city, consecrated the places where they had fallen, and offered to them all first-fruits according to the season of the year. Nay, many daily sacrificed and paid their devotions there, as in the temples of the gods.

Cornelia is reported to have borne all these misfortunes with a noble magnanimity, and to have said of the consecrated places in particular, where her sons lost their lives, "That they were monuments worthy of them." She took up her residence at Misenum, and made no alteration in her manner of living. As she had many friends, her table was always open for the purposes of hospitality. Greeks and other men of letters she had constantly about her, and all the kings in alliance with Rome expressed their regard by sending her presents, and re-

ceiving the like civilities in return. She made herself very agreeable to her guests, by acquainting them with many particulars of her father Africanus, and of his manner of living. But what they most admired in her was, that she could speak of her sons without a sigh or a tear, and recount their actions and sufferings, as if she had been giving a narrative of some ancient heroes. Some therefore imagined, that age and the heaviness of her misfortunes had deprived her of her understanding and sensibility. But those, who were of that opinion, seem rather themselves to have wanted understanding; ignorant as they were, that a noble mind may by a liberal education be enabled to support itself against distress, and that though in the pursuit of rectitude Fortune may often defeat the purposes of Virtue, yet Virtue in bearing affliction can never lose her prerogative<sup>40</sup>.

## AGIS AND CLEOMENES

COMPARED WITH

### TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.

HAVING thus given the history of these great men severally, it remains that we take a view of them in comparison with each other. Those who hated the

<sup>40</sup> Καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡ τύχη Φυλαττομένοις μὴ τὰ καλὰ πολλακις περιεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πταίσαι τὸ Φερὶν εὐλογιστὶς ὑπάρχειται. The learned Du Soul here proposes to read *φυλαττομένης* instead of *φυλαττομένοις*, and *κακὰ* for *καλὰ*. There are indeed some MSS. authorities for those readings, and the passage is capable of a good sense if we accept them, viz. "And that though Virtue, in striving to avoid affliction, may be often overborne by Fortune," &c. But we think the contrast sufficiently preserved, without altering the printed text. The learned annotator will have *φυλαττομαι* here to signify *veto*, as it certainly often does; but sometimes likewise it signifies *obseruo*, as appears from Hesiod,

Ἡρώτα δ' ἐν Διὶ πεφυλαγμένον

Gracchi, and endeavoured the most to disparage them, never durst deny that, of all the Romans of their time, nature had disposed them the most happily to virtue, or that this disposition was cultivated by the most excellent education. But nature appears to have done still more for Agis and Cleomenes; for though they not only wanted the advantages of education, but were trained to such manners and customs as had corrupted many before them, yet they became examples of temperance and sobriety.

Besides, the Gracchi lived at a period when Rome was in her highest glory, a period distinguished by virtuous emulation; and of course they must have had a natural reluctance to renounce the inheritance of virtue, which they had received from their ancestors. Whereas Agis and Cleomenes had parents of very different principles, and found their country in a most unhappy and distempered state; and yet these things did not in the least abate their ardour in the pursuits of honour.

Of the disinterested views of the Gracchi, and their aversion from avarice, we have a strong proof in their standing aloof from all iniquitous practices during the whole course of their administration. But Agis might even have resented it, if any one had commended him for not having touched the property of others; since he distributed his whole substance among the citizens of Sparta, which beside other considerable articles consisted of six hundred talents in money. What a crime then must unjust gain have appeared to him, who thought it nothing less than avarice to possess more than others, though by the fairest title?

If we consider them with respect to the hardness of their enterprises, and the new regulations which they sought to establish, we shall find the two Grecians greatly superior. One of the Romans applied himself principally to making roads, and colonising towns. The boldest attempt of Tiberius was, the distribution of the public lands; and Caius achieved

nothing more extraordinary, than joining an equal number of the equestrian order in commission with the three hundred patrician judges.

The alterations, which Agis and Cleomenes introduced into the system of their commonwealth, were of a different nature. They saw that a small and partial amendment was no better, as Plato expresses it, than 'cutting off one of the Hydra's heads'; and therefore they adopted a change, calculated to remove all the distempers of the constitution at once. Perhaps we shall express ourselves with more propriety, if we say that, by removing the changes which had caused all their misfortunes, they brought Sparta back to it's first principles.

It may be right to add, that the measures pursued by the Gracchi were offensive to the greatest men in Rome<sup>41</sup>; whereas all that Agis meditated, and Cleomenes carried into effect, had the best and most respectable authorities engaged in their support; I mean those regulations respecting frugality and equality, which were sanctioned either by Lycurgus or Apollo.

What is still more deserving of consideration, by the political measures of the Gracchi Rome made not the least acquisition of power or of territory; whereas, through those of Cleomenes, Greece saw the Spartans in a little time become masters of Peloponnesus, and contending for superiority with the most powerful princes of the age: and this with no other view, than to deliver the Greeks from the incursions of the Illyrians and the Gauls, and to place them once more under the protection of the race of Hercules.

<sup>41</sup> De Rep. iv.

<sup>42</sup> Plutarch seems to censure the Agrarian law as an irrational one, and as the invention of the Gracchi. But an Agrarian law, in fact, existed in the code of Lycurgus; and, even among the Romans, the Gracchi were not it's first promoters: Spurius Cassius had proposed a bill of the same kind above two hundred years before, which proved equally fatal to it's author.

The different manner, also, of the deaths of these illustrious men appears to me to point out a difference in their characters. The Gracchi fought with their fellow-citizens, and being defeated perished in their flight. Agis, on the other hand, fell almost a voluntary sacrifice, that no Spartan might lose his life on his account. Cleomenes, when insulted and oppressed, had recourse to vengeance; and, as circumstances did not favour him, had courage<sup>43</sup> enough to give himself the fatal blow.

If we view them in another light, Agis never distinguished himself as a general, for he was killed before he had any opportunity of that kind; and with the many signal and glorious victories of Cleomenes we may compare the memorable exploit of Tiberius, in being the first to scale the walls of Carthage, and his saving twenty thousand Romans (who had no other chance of escape) by the peace, which he happily concluded with the Numantians. As for Caius, there were many instances of his military talents both in the Numantian war, and in Sardinia. So that the two brothers would probably one day have been ranked with the greatest generals among the Romans, had they not come to an untimely death.

With regard to their political abilities, Agis seems to have wanted firmness and despatch. He suffered himself to be imposed upon by Agesilaus, and did not perform his promise to the citizens of making a distribution of lands. He was, indeed, extremely young; and had on that account a timidity, which prevented the completion of those schemes, by which he had so much raised the public expectation. Cleomenes, on the contrary, took too bold and violent a method to effectuate his projected changes in the police of Sparta. It was an act of injustice to put to death

<sup>43</sup> This, it must be remembered, is the language of a heathen writer. The more accurate ethics of Christianity do not denominate that man courageous, who flies from difficulties and dangers by self-destruction.

*Hoc, rogo, non furor est, ne moriari, mori?*

the Ephori, whom he might either have brought over to his party by force, because he was superior in arms, or have sent into exile as he did many others. For to have recourse to the knife, except in cases of extreme necessity, indicates neither the good physician nor the able statesman, but unskilfulness in both. Besides, in politics, that unskilfulness is always attended with injustice and cruelty. But neither of the Gracchi began the civil war, or dipped his hands in the blood of his countrymen. Caius, we are told, even when attacked, did not repel force with force; and, though no one behaved with more courage and vigour than he had done in other wars, none was so slow to lift his arm against a fellow-citizen. He went out unarmed to a scene of fury and sedition: when the fight began, he retired; and throughout the whole he appeared more solicitous to avoid the doing of harm, than the receiving of it. The flight, therefore, of the Gracchi must not be considered as an act of cowardice, but of patriotic discretion. For they were under a necessity either of flying, or of fighting in their own defence, if they stayed.

The strongest charge against Tiberius is, that he deposed his colleague, and sued for a second tribuneship. Caius was blamed for Antyllus' death, but against all reason and justice; for the fact was committed without his approbation, and was indeed by him regarded as a most unhappy circumstance. On the other hand, Cleomenes, not to mention any more the assassination of the Ephori, took an unconstitutional step in enfranchising all the slaves; and in reality reigned alone, though in order to save appearances he admitted as a partner in the throne his brother Euclidas, who was not of the other family claiming the privilege of giving one of the kings to Sparta. Archidamus, who was of that family, and had as much right as himself to the throne, he persuaded to return from Messene. In consequence of this, he was assassinated; and, as Cleomenes made no

inquiry into the murder, it is probable that he was justly censured as the cause of it. Whereas Lycurgus, whom he pretended to adopt as his pattern, freely surrendered to his nephew Charilaus the kingdom committed to his charge, and that he might not be blamed in case of his untimely death, went abroad and wandered a long time in foreign countries; not returning, till Charilaus had a son to succeed him in the throne. It is true, Greece never produced any other man, who can be compared with Lycurgus.

We have shown that Cleomenes, in the course of his government, introduced greater innovations, and committed grosser acts of injustice. And those, that are inclined to censure the persons of whom we are writing, represent him as from the first of a tyrannical disposition, and a lover of war<sup>44</sup>. The Gracchi they accuse of immoderate ambition, malignity itself not being able to discover in them any other flaw. At the same time they acknowledge, that those tribunes might possibly be carried beyond the dictates of their native disposition by anger and the heat of contention, which like so many hurricanes drove them at last upon some extremes in their administration. What indeed could be more just or meritorious than their first design, to which they would have adhered, had not the rich and the powerful by their violent methods of thwarting the bill involved them both in those fatal quarrels; the one to defend himself, and the other to avenge his brother, who had been taken off without any form of law or justice?

From these observations, you<sup>45</sup> may easily perceive the difference between them. But if you require me to characterise each of them singly, I pronounce that the palm of virtue belongs to Tiberius, young Agis had the fewest faults, and Caius in point of courage and spirit of enterprise was little inferior to Cleomenes.

<sup>44</sup> See Polyb. ii.

<sup>45</sup> These Lives are addressed by Plutarch to Sossius Senecio. See the Life of Thersites in the beginning.

# THE L I F E OF DEMOSTHENES.

## SUMMARY.

*Virtue independent of the place of one's nativity. Plutarch little versed in the Latin language, which he did not begin to study till late in life. His object in writing the Lives of Demosthenes and Cicero. Extraction of Demosthenes. Origin of his ambition to speak in public. He pleads against his guardians; and addresses the people, with little success: is dejected, but encouraged by one of his friends. His extraordinary pains to improve himself in oratory. He refuses to speak upon any subject unprepared; but occasionally does so, and succeeds. Different opinions about him. His great efforts to get the better of his personal defects; his repartees. He enters upon public business. His treatment of Midias. Fidelity to his party. Principle, upon which the chief part of his orations are written. His superiority, in moral worth, to the contemporary orators: His orations. He inveighs against Philip, even before the war breaks out. His zeal in favour of Greece. He persuades the Thebans to join the confederacy. Credit accruing to him from that measure: he contemns the ill omens announced; but in the battle throws away his arms, and flies. Marks of esteem shown him by the King of Persia. He is selected to make the general oration over the bones of those, who fell at Chæronea. Death of Philip; and Demosthenes' exultation upon that event: Justified against Æschines' reproaches. New league of the Greeks, disconcerted by Alexander's success. That prince demands of the Athenians ten of their orators: Demades obtains their pardon. Demosthenes regains a little credit. The affair "Concerning the Crown." He accepts a bribe, and goes over to Harpalus' interest; is examined before*



*the court of Areopagus, and sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be imprisoned till it is paid. He escapes, and gets out of the city; bears his exile very weakly; is re-animated by the account of Alexander's death, and recalled; but soon afterward condemned to death. He seeks refuge at Calauria, in the temple of Neptune, whence Archias endeavours to seduce him, but without effect. He takes poison, which he constantly carried about him. Different traditions about his death. Honours paid by the Athenians to his memory. Death of Demades.*

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**W**HOEVER it was, my Sossius, that wrote the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at the Olympic games<sup>1</sup>, whether Euripides (which is the common opinion) or some other, he pronounces it "The first requisite to happiness, that a man be born in no mean city<sup>2</sup>." But as to real happiness, which consists principally in the habit and disposition of the mind, I myself think it would make no difference though a man should be born in an inconsiderable town, or of a mother who had no advantages either of size or beauty: for it is ridiculous to suppose that Julis, a small town in Ceos (itself an inconsiderable island), and Ægina, which an Athenian "wished to have removed as an eye-sore to the "Piræus," should have given birth to good poets and players<sup>3</sup>, and yet not be able to produce a man

In these it was the highest of glories to be successful, and the noblest of lyric poets thought them fit subjects of their immortal odes. The victors, as Horace informs us (Od. I. i.), were elevated to the rank of "Gods". No wonder then, that kings were seen among the competitors. Alcibiades sent seven chariots thither, and carried off the three first prizes. (See his Life, II. 124.)\*

I cannot reflect without pleasure on the bounty of nature, which cast my birth in a free and civilised country, in an age of science and philosophy, &c. &c. (Gibbon's Mem. i. 17. 4to.) The present Emperor of Russia (Alex. I.) is said to have observed, that the man possessing the most materials for happiness is an English country gentleman. The maxim in the text is by Ammianus Marcellinus ascribed to Simonides.\*

Simonides the elegiac, and Bacchylides the lyric, poet were of Ceos; and Pylus the celebrated tragedian was of Ægina, as was

capable of the virtues of justice, contentment, and magnanimity. Those arts, indeed, which are to gain the master considerable profit or honour, may probably not flourish in mean and insignificant towns. But virtue like a strong and hardy plant will take root in any place, where it can find an ingenuous nature, and a mind that has no aversion from labour and discipline. If our sentiments or our conduct therefore fall short of the point, which they ought to reach, we must impute it not to the obscurity of the place where we were born, but to our little selves.

These reflexions however do not extend to an author, who would write a history of events that happened in a foreign country, and cannot be learned in his own. As he has his materials to collect from a variety of volumes dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some respectable and populous town, which has an ambition for literature. There, he will meet with many curious and valuable books: and the particulars, that are wanting in writers, he may upon inquiry derive from those who have stored them in the faithful repository of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a small town, and I choose to live there, lest it should become still smaller<sup>4</sup>. When I was in Rome and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people who came to be instructed by me in philosophy. It was not therefore till a late period of life, that I began to read the Roman

likewise (according to some writers) Aristophanes, the comic author. This latter island, which Pindar has celebrated (Pyth. viii. 38.) as 'the nurse of heroes,' had in Plutarch's time become proverbially degenerated. The Athenian, who wished it removed, was Pericles (See his Life, II. 14., and Aristot. Rhet. iii. 10.), referring more probably to its maritime rivalry of Athens, than to its physical position.\*

\* Chæronea, in Bœotia. See the Life of Plutarch, prefixed to this work.\*

authors. The process may seem strange, and yet it is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by words, as words by the knowledge which I had of things. I shall only add, that to attain such a skill in the language, as to be master of the beauty and fluency of its expressions, with its figures, its harmony, and all the other graces of its structure, would indeed be an elegant and agreeable accomplishment. But the practice and pains, which it demands, are more than I have time for, and I must relinquish the ambition of excelling in that walk to younger men.

In this book, which is the fifth of our parallels, we intend to give the Lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, and from their actions and political conduct we shall collect and compare their manners and disposition; but, for the reason already assigned, we shall not pretend to examine their orations, or to determine which of them was the more agreeable speaker. For as Ion says,

Such is the dolphin's force when drawn to land!

Cæcilius, a writer at all times much too presumptuous, paid little regard to that maxim of the poet's, when he so boldly attempted a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero. But perhaps the precept, "Know thyself," would not be considered as divine, if every man could easily reduce it to practice.

{ This, M. Ricard observes, as he might justly have assigned the palm to Demosthenes, completely exonerates him from the imputation of partiality to his Grecian heroes. Longinus (sect. 12.) has given a short sketch of their respective characters, as speakers. Ion was a drunken poet and philosopher of Chios. See *Ælian* V. II. li. 41., and *Bentl. Ep. ad. Mill.* He wrote odes and tragedies. Analogous to the proverb quoted from him is the Latin *Cantherium infusum*, *Liv.* xxiii. 47., upon which Crevier has a satisfactory note.\*

\* A celebrated Jewish rhetorician of Calantis in Sicily, who lived in the time of Augustus, and was the friend of Dion. Halic. He wrote a *Treatise on the Sublime*, which is mentioned by Longinus; and was the first, according to Suidas, who 'attempted' the comparison mentioned in the text,

Demosthenes and Cicero appear to me to have been originally formed by nature in the same mould, so great is the resemblance in their disposition. The same ambition, the same love of liberty, pervades their whole administration, and the same timidity amidst wars and dangers. Neither did they less resemble each other in their fortunes. For I deem it impossible to find two other orators, who raised themselves from obscure beginnings to such authority and power, who both opposed kings and tyrants, who both lost their daughters, were both banished from their country and recalled with honour, both forced to fly again, both taken by their enemies, and at last both doomed to die along with the liberties of their country. So that if nature and fortune, like two artificers, were to descend upon the scene and dispute about their work, it would be difficult to decide whether the former had produced a closer resemblance in their dispositions, or the latter in the circumstances of their lives. We shall begin with the more ancient.

Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was one of the principal citizens of Athens. Theopompus informs us, he was called 'the Sword-cutler\*,' because he employed a great number of slaves in that business. As to what Æschines the orator relates concerning his mother<sup>7</sup>, that she was the daughter of one Gylon<sup>8</sup>, who had been forced to fly for treason against the commonwealth, and a barbarian woman, we cannot take upon us to pronounce whether

\* — *Pater ardentis massæ fuligine lippus,  
A carbone et forcipibus, gladiosque parans  
Incude, et luteo Vulcano ad rhetoræ misit.* (Juv. Sat. x. 180.)

<sup>7</sup> In his Oration against Ctesiphon.

<sup>8</sup> Gylon was accused of having betrayed to the enemy a town in Pontus, called Nymphæum; upon which he fled into Scythia, where he married a native of the country and had two daughters by her: one of them married to Philochares, and the other, named Cleobule, to Demosthenes. Her fortune was fifty minæ; and from this marriage sprang 'the Orator.'

it was dictated by truth, or by falsehood and malignity. He had a large fortune left him by his father, who died when he was only seven years of age, the whole being estimated at little less than fifteen talents. But he was greatly wronged by his guardians, who converted part of it to their own use, and suffered part to lie neglected. Nay, they were vile enough to defraud his tutors of their salaries. This was the chief reason, that he had not those advantages of education, to which by his quality he was entitled. His mother did not choose that he should be put to hard and laborious exercises, on account of the weakness and delicacy of his frame; and his preceptors, being ill paid, did not press him to attend them. From the first indeed he was of a slender and sickly habit, insomuch that the boys are said to have given him the contemptuous name of Batalus<sup>9</sup> on account of his natural defects. Some affirm that Batalus was an effeminate musician, whom Antiphanes ridiculed in one of his farces; others, that he was a poet, whose verses were of the most wanton and licentious kind. The Athenians, likewise, of that time seem to have given the name of Batalus to a part of the body which decency forbids us to name. We are told, that Demosthenes had also the name of Argas, either on account of the savage and morose turn of his behaviour, for there is a kind of serpent which some of the poets call Argas<sup>10</sup>: or else from the severity of his expressions, which often gave his

<sup>9</sup> Hesychius gives a different explanation of the word 'Batalus;' but Plutarch must be allowed, *malgré* M. Dacier, to have understood the sense of the Greek word as well as Hesychius. (L.) From Aul. Gell. i. 5. however, and Æsch. in Timarch. it appears, that Demosthenes was notorious for the effeminacy of his dress.\*

<sup>10</sup> Hippocrates also (de Morb. Vulg. v.) mentions a serpent of that name, which crept into a young man's mouth. Palmerius refers the appellation (which, it appears from Æsch. *περὶ Πάριον*, was consequent on his action against his guardians) to the fable of the serpent, which stung the traveller after having been fostered in his bosom. The poet Argas is mentioned by Athen. xiv. 9.\*

hearers pain; the verses of the poet Argas being peculiarly keen and satirical. But enough, as Plato says, upon this head.

His ambition to speak in public is said to have taken its rise on the following occasion: The orator Callistratus was to plead in the cause, which the city of Oropus<sup>21</sup> had then depending; and the expectation of the public was much raised both by the powers of the speaker, which were at that time in the highest repute, and by the importance of the trial. Demosthenes, hearing the governors and tutors agree among themselves to attend the trial, with much importunity prevailed upon his master to take him to hear the pleadings. The master, having some acquaintance with the officers who opened the court, procured his young pupil a seat, where he could hear the orators without being seen. Callistratus had great success, and his abilities were extremely admired. Demosthenes was fired with a spirit of emulation\*. When he saw with what dis-

<sup>21</sup> Oropus was a town on the banks of the Euripus, on the frontiers of Attica. The Thebans, though they had been relieved in their distress by Chabrias and the Athenians, forgot their former services, and took Oropus from them. This subjected Chabrias to the suspicion of treachery, and Callistratus was retained to plead against him. See Demosthenes' Oration against Midias. At the time of the trial (Ol. cin. 3.) he was about sixteen. For the different masters of this disputed place, see Pausan. i. 34.; Thucyd. i. 28.; Diod. Sic. xiv. 17.; Xenoph. Hellen. vii.; and Dem. *περὶ Στεφ.* xxix.

\* From the commentary usually, but improperly †, ascribed to Ulpian we learn that Demosthenes upon being asked, 'Whether Callistratus or himself were the better speaker?' he replied, 'I to the reader, Callistratus to the hearer.' This may perhaps be ascribed to his modesty; or it may probably have been said at some early period when he had not attained the excellence which he afterward reached, and for which he is celebrated by the unanimous voice of antiquity: for after all his labours in the choice of matter, in the decorations of style, and in the graces of delivery (recorded by Plutarch, by Cicero, and by Quintilian, who particularly records xi. 3. the opinion of his illustrious adversary), we cannot admit it's truth in his more advanced and ripened age. See Parr's Character of Fox, II. 558.

This is quite reconcileable with the judgement expressed upon the relative merits of Phocion and Demosthenes, V. 8.\*

\* See Chapman's *Observationes in Comm. vulg. Ulpian.* prefixed to Mounterney's Demosthenes.

tion the advocate was conducted home and complimented by the people, he was struck still more with the power of that commanding eloquence, which could carry all before it. From this time therefore he bade adieu to the other studies and exercises in which boys are engaged, and applied himself with the utmost assiduity to declaiming, in hopes of being one day numbered among the orators. Isæus was the man, whom he attended as his preceptor in eloquence, though Isocrates was then a teacher; whether it was, that the loss of his father incapacitated him from paying the sum of ten minæ<sup>12</sup>, which was that rhetorician's usual price; or he preferred the keen and subtile manner of Isæus, as more fit for public purposes.

Hermippus says, he met with an account in certain anonymous Memoirs, that Demosthenes likewise studied under Plato<sup>13</sup>, and received great assistance from him in preparing to speak in public. Ctesibius

<sup>12</sup> This could not be the reason, if what is recorded in the Life of Isæus be true, that he was retained as tutor to Demosthenes at the price of a hundred minæ. (L.) Isæus, according to Dion. Halic., was one of the best orators at Athens. Ten of his orations are still extant.\*

<sup>13</sup> This is confirmed by Cicero (Brut. xxxi.) *Lectitavisse Platonem studiosè, audivisse etiam, Demosthenes dicitur: Idque apparet in genere et granditate verborum. Dicit etiam in quâdam Epistolâ hoc ipse de sese.* Again, in his Orat. iv. *Quod idem de Demosthene existimari potest, cujus ex Epistolis intelligi licet, quàm frequens fuerit Platonis auditor.* It is possible that Cicero in both these places alludes to that letter of Demosthenes addressed to Heracleodorus, in which he thus speaks of Plato's philosophy: 'Since you have espoused the doctrine of Plato, which is so distant from avarice, from artifice, and violence—a doctrine, whose object is the perfection of goodness and justice! Immortal gods! when once a man has adopted this doctrine, is it possible that he should deviate from truth, or entertain one selfish or ungenerous sentiment?' (L.) (See also his De Orat. i. 20., and the Preface to his Offices; with Quint. xii. 2., and Aul. Gell. iii. 13.) 'Dion. Halic. in that part of his *τεχνή*, which treats *Περὶ τῶν ἐν πολιταῖς πλημμελιῶν*', points out some instances in which Demosthenes *συναρμόνιζται κατὰ μέτρον τῷ Πλάτῳ*. So intent was he upon giving the utmost perfection to his stile! (Parr's Character of Fox, II. 357.) The Hermippus here mentioned was an historian of Smyrna, and wrote the Lives of some eminent scholars. (Voss. de Hist. Græc.)

(he adds) used to affirm, that Demosthenes was privately supplied by Callias the Syracusan and some others with the systems of rhetoric taught by Isocrates and Alcidas, and made his advantage of them <sup>14</sup>.

When his minority was expired, he called his guardians to account at law, and wrote orations against them. As they found many methods of chicane and delay, he had great opportunity, according to Thucydides, of exercising his talent for the bar <sup>15</sup>. It was not without much exertion and some risk, that he gained his cause; and, at last, it was but a very small part of his patrimony which he could recover. By those means, however, he acquired a proper assurance and some experience; and having tasted the honour and power that follow in the train of eloquence, he attempted to speak in the public debates, and take a share in the administration. As it is related of Laomedon the Orchomenian, that by the advice of his physicians, in some disorder of the spleen he applied himself to running, and continued it constantly a great length of way, till he gained such excellent health and breath, that he contended for the crown at the public games and distinguished himself in the Long Course <sup>16</sup>; so it happened to Demosthenes, that he first appeared at the bar for the recovery of his own fortune, which had been nearly embezzled; and having acquired in that cause a persuasive and powerful manner of speaking, he disput-

<sup>14</sup> Lucian, in his *Encom.*, informs us that Demosthenes profited by the tuition of Callistratus, Alcidas, Isocrates, Isæus, Eubulides, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Xenocrates, and Plato.

<sup>15</sup> He lost his father at the age of seven, and he was ten years in the hands of guardians. He therefore began to plead in his eighteenth year, which as it was only in his own private affairs, was not forbidden by the laws. (L.)

M. Ricard, following Barton (the editor of the *Lives of Demosthenes and Cicero*) by a slight alteration in the text translates it, 'he had great opportunity of improving himself by the study of Thucydides,' whom he is said by Lucian (*On the Arrangement*) and others, to have transcribed eight times.\*

<sup>16</sup> See the *Life of Phocion*, V. 27, not. (22.)



ed the crown, for so I may call it, with the other orators before the general assembly.

In his first address to the people, however, he was laughed at, and interrupted by their clamours; for the violence of his manner threw him into a confusion of periods, and a distortion of argument. Besides, he had a weakness and stammering in his voice, and a want of breath, which caused such a distraction in his discourse, that it was difficult for the audience to understand him. At last, upon his quitting the assembly Eunomus the Thriasian, a man at that time far advanced in years, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piræus, and undertook to set him right: "You have a manner of speaking," said he, "very like that of Pericles; and yet you lose yourself, out of mere timidity and cowardice. You neither bear up against the tumults of a popular assembly, nor prepare your body by exercise for the labour of the Rostrum, but suffer your parts to wither away in indolence and carelessness."

Another time (we are told) when his speeches had been ill received, and he was returning home with his head covered and in the utmost distress, Satyrus the player, who was an acquaintance of his, followed and went in with him. Demosthenes lamented to him, "That though he was the most laborious of all the orators, and had almost sacrificed his health to his application, he yet could gain no favour with the people; but drunken seamen and other unlettered persons were heard, and kept the Rostrum, while he was entirely disregarded." "Your observation is just," answered

<sup>1</sup> This was the privilege of all democratic states. Some think, that by seamen he means Demades, whose profession was that of a mariner (Quint. ii. 17.), (L.) and whose character, according to Pytheas, was that of extreme drunkenness. See Athen. ii. Of Satyrus, Demosthenes (*τῷ Πλάτῳ*, xviii.) records a very honourable trait, which he places in opposition to the licentiousness of Alcibiades.

Satyrus; "but I will soon provide a remedy, if you will repeat to me some speech in Euripides or Sophocles." When Demosthenes had finished, Satyrus pronounced the same speech; and he did it with such propriety of action, and so much in character, that it appeared to the orator quite a different passage. He now understood so perfectly what grace and dignity action adds to the best oration, that he thought it a small matter to premeditate and compose, though with the utmost care, if pronunciation and propriety of gesture were not likewise attended to. Upon this, he built himself a subterraneous study, which remained even to our times<sup>18</sup>. Thither he repaired every day, to form his action and exercise his voice, and there he would often stay for two or three months together; shaving one side of his head, that if he should accidentally long to go abroad, the shame of appearing in that condition might detain him within.

When he did go out upon a visit or receive one, he would take something that passed in conversation, some business or fact that was reported to him, for a subject upon which to exercise himself. As soon as he had parted from his friends, he retired to his study, where he repeated the matter in order as it passed, together with the arguments for and against it. The substance of the speeches which he heard he committed to memory, and afterward reduced them to regular sentences and periods<sup>19</sup>; meditating

<sup>18</sup> Barton, and after him M. Ricard, quotes a passage from Wheler, upon the subject apparently of this celebrated study, called 'Demosthenes' Lantern;' but the place of which he there speaks, is not subterraneous. It might possibly have been erected by the Athenians, to preserve the memory of the orator; or it might have succeeded to it's renown, like Marius' oak, mentioned by Cic. de Legg. i. 1. So, it may be trusted, the mulberry-trees of Shakespeare and Milton, at Stratford and Christ's College, Cambridge, will never want their representatives. There is even said to be still remaining some kindred memorial of the tree, whence Newton inferred the stupendous theory of gravitation.

<sup>19</sup> Cicero, as we find in his Epistles to Atticus, followed precisely

a variety of corrections and new forms of expression, both for what others had said to him, and for his own replies. Hence it was concluded, that he was not a man of much genius, and that all his eloquence was the effect of labour<sup>20</sup>. A strong proof of this seemed to be, that he was seldom heard to speak any thing extemporany; and though the people often called upon him by name, as he sat in the assembly, to speak to the point debated, he would never do it unless he came prepared. For this, many of the orators ridiculed him; and Pytheas in particular told him, "That all his arguments smelled of the lamp\*." Demosthenes retorted sharply upon him, "Yes, indeed; but your lamp and mine, my friend, are not conscious of the same labours." To others he did not pretend to deny his previous application, but told them, "He neither wrote the whole of his orations, nor spoke without having first committed a part of them to writing." He farther affirmed, "That this proved him a good member of a democratic state, for the coming prepared to the Rostrum was a mark of respect for the people; whereas to be regardless of what they might think of a man's address, showed his inclination for oligarchy, and that he had rather gain his point by force than by persuasion." Another proof adduced of his want of confidence upon any sudden occasion is, that when he happened to be thrown into disorder by the tumultuary behaviour of the people, Demades often rose up to support him in an address, whereas he never did the same for Demades.

the same practice. These arguments he calls *Θύσαι πολιτικά*, and gives us a list of them. (ix. 4.)

<sup>20</sup> *Ἐπιμελὴς πολλὸν ἢ τυφύης.* (Hermipp. ap. Suid. voc. Demosth.)  
Of Pytheas and Demades, mentioned below, see some account in the Life of Phocion, V. 2. 25., &c.\*

\* No wonder that with such application, to improve such talents, he should have been held in the estimation of Cicero, Quintilian, and all the critics of antiquity as nearly a perfect orator. Parr's Character of Fox, II. 357.

Wherefore then, it may be asked, did Æschines pronounce him an orator of the most admirable assurance: How could he stand up alone and refute Python the Byzantian<sup>21</sup>, whose eloquence poured against the Athenians like a torrent? and when Lamachus the Myrrhenæan<sup>22</sup> pronounced at the Olympic games an encomium which he had written upon Philip and Alexander, and in which he had asserted many reproachful things against the Thebans and Olynthians, how could Demosthenes rise up and prove by a ready induction of facts the many benefits, for which Greece was indebted to the Thebans and Chalcidians, and the many evils which the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon their country? This likewise wrought such a change in the minds of the audience, that the sophist his antagonist, apprehending a tumult, stole out of the assembly.

Upon the whole, it appears that Demosthenes did not take Pericles entirely for his model. He only adopted his action and delivery, and his prudent resolution not to make a practice of speaking from a sudden impulse, or upon every casual occasion; being persuaded, that to that conduct he owed his greatness. Yet, while he declined frequently trust-

<sup>21</sup> This was one of the most glorious circumstances in Demosthenes' life. The fate of his country, in a great measure, depended upon his eloquence. When Elatea was lost, and Philip threatened to march against Athens, the Athenians applied for succours to the Boeotians. The league being established and the troops assembled at Chæronea, Philip sent ambassadors to the council of Boeotia, the chief of whom was Python, one of the ablest orators of his time. (Æsch. *περὶ Παράτρ.* xl.) After he had inveighed with all the powers of eloquence against the Athenians and their cause, Demosthenes replied to him, and carried the point in their favour. With this victory he was so elevated, that he mentions it in his Oration (*πρὸς Σπέρ.* xliii.) in almost the same bold terms, which Plutarch has here used. See Lucian in *Encom.*, and Philostr. *Life of Apoll. Tyan.* vii. 3.

<sup>22</sup> If we suppose this Lamachus to have been of Attica, the text should be altered from 'Myrrhenæan' to 'Myrrhinusian;' for 'Myrrhinus' was a borough of Attica. But there was a town called Myrrhine in Æolia, and another in Lemnos, and probably Lamachus was one of these.

ing the success of his powers to fortune, he did not absolutely neglect the reputation, which may be acquired by speaking upon an emergency. And if we believe Eratosthenes<sup>23</sup>, Demetrius the Phalcrean, and the comic poets, there was a loftier spirit and confidence in his unpremeditated orations, than in those which he had committed to writing. By Eratosthenes we are told, that in his extemporaneous harangues he often spoke as from a supernatural impulse; and Demetrius informs us, that in an address to the people, he once, like a man inspired, uttered this oath in verse;

By earth, by all her fountains, streams, and floods.

One of the comic writers calls him Rhopoperperethras<sup>24</sup>; and another, ridiculing his frequent use of the antithesis, says,

‘Retaking, as he took’—a phrase, to please,  
The ear fastidious of Demosthenes.

Unless indeed the author (Antiphanes) were playing upon that passage in the Oration concerning the isle of Haloncsus, in which Demosthenes advises the Athenians “not to take, but to retake it from Philip<sup>25</sup>.”

It was universally agreed, however, that Demades excelled all the orators, when he trusted to nature

<sup>23</sup> Of Cyrene, a pupil of Callimachus, and keeper of the Alexandrian library under Ptolemy Euergetes. He was surnamed Beta, for having said that ‘he had rather be second in all the sciences, than first in any one of them.’\*

<sup>24</sup> ‘A haberdasher of small wares,’ or something like it. (L.) This usage of combining many words together was familiar to the old comedians, who did not so much attend to the justice, as to the ludicrousness of the compound.\*

<sup>25</sup> i. e. ‘Not to receive it as a favour, but to recover it as a right.’ Haloncsus is a small island in the Ægean sea, over against Thessaly. See Æsch. *supra* K<sup>tes</sup>, xxx., and Ælian, V. H. xii. 53.\* There is an expression something like what Plutarch has quoted, about the beginning of that Oration. Libanius suspects the whole

alone, and that his sudden effusions were superior to the laboured speeches of Demosthenes. Aristo of Chios gives us the following account of Theophrastus' opinion concerning these rival speakers: Being asked, "What he thought of Demosthenes as an " orator?" he said, "I think him worthy of Athens;" "And what of Demades?" "I think him above it." The same philosopher relates of Polyeuctus<sup>26</sup> the Sphettian, who was one of the principal persons at that time in the Athenian administration, that he called "Demosthenes the greatest orator, and Phocion the most powerful speaker;" because the latter comprised a great deal of sense in a few words. To the same purpose we are told that Demosthenes himself, whenever Phocion got up to oppose him, used to say to his friends, "Here comes the pruning-hook of my periods\*." It is uncertain indeed, whether Demosthenes referred to Phocion's manner of speaking, or to his life and character. The latter might possibly be the case, because he knew that a word or a nod from a man of superior character is more regarded than the long discourses of others.

As for his personal defects, Demetrius the Phalerean informs us of the remedies, which he applied to them; and he says, that he had it from Demosthenes himself in his old age. The hesitation and stammering of his tongue, he corrected by practising to

of the composition to be spurious, and ascribes it to Hegesippus; but this railery of the poet on Demosthenes seems to prove the contrary.

Demosthenes is censured by Demetrius the Phalerean for his excessive use of this figure. That the quotation from Antiphanes is rightly rendered, appears from Athen. vi. 1. quoted by Barton.\*

<sup>26</sup> To a character of public speaking, composed of emphasis, allegory, and hyperbole, Demetrius Phalereus gives the denomination of "Demadean."

This opinion of Theophrastus, however, must refer only "to extemporaneous effusions, in which Demades, from the natural vigour of his mind, and from habit, had confessedly the superiority. The unrivalled excellence of the speeches written by Demosthenes is indisputable."\*

<sup>27</sup> This orator, though he defended Midias, in all public matters most cordially co-operated with Demosthenes.

\* See the Life of Phocion, V. 8.

speaking with pebbles in his mouth; and his voice he strengthened by running or walking up hill, and pronouncing some passage in an oration or a poem, during the difficulty of breath which that exercise created. He had moreover a looking-glass in his house, before which he used to declaim, and adjust all his motions<sup>28</sup>.

It is said, that a man came to him one day, and desired him to be his advocate against a person from whom he had suffered by assault: "Not you indeed," said Demosthenes, "you have suffered no such thing<sup>29</sup>." "What!" said the man, raising his voice, "have I not received those blows?" "Ay, now," replied Demosthenes, "you speak like a person that has been really injured." So much, in his opinion, do the tone of voice and the action contribute to gain the speaker credit in what he affirms.

His action was extremely agreeable to the commonalty; but people of taste (among whom was Demetrius the Phalerean) thought there was something in it low, inelegant, and unmanly. Hermippus acquaints us, that Æsion being asked his opinion of the ancient and modern orators, replied, "Whoever has heard the orators of former times, must admire the decorum and dignity with which they spoke. Yet, when we read the orations of Demosthenes, we must allow that they have more art in the composition and greater force." It is needless to mention, that in his written orations there was something extremely sarcastic and severe; but in his sudden repartees there was, also, something of humour<sup>30</sup>. When Demades said, "De-

<sup>28</sup> Upon this subject see Lucian in *Encom.*, Cic. *de Orat.* i. 61., Quint. xi. 3., and Val. Max. viii. 7.\*

<sup>29</sup> Cicero, in his defence of Q. Gallius, converts this to an argument: *Twist me, M. Gallius, nisi fingeres, sic ageres?* (*Brut.* lxxx.)\*

<sup>30</sup> Longinus will not allow him the least excellence in matters of humour. (xxviii.) Colyttus, mentioned below, was one of the Attic boroughs,

"mosthenes to me! a sow to Minerva!" our orator answered, "This Minerva was found the other day "playing the whore in Colyttus." When a rascal surnamed Chalcus<sup>31</sup>, attempted to jest upon his late studies and long watchings, he said, "I know my "lamp offends thee. But you need not wonder, my "countrymen, that we have so many robberies, when "we have thieves of brass and walls only of clay." Though more of his sayings might be produced, we shall pass them over, and proceed to view the rest of his manners and character in his actions and his political conduct.

He himself informs us, that he entered upon public business in the time of the Phocian war<sup>32</sup>; and the same may be collected from his *Philippics*. For some of the last of them were delivered after that war was finished, and the earlier relate to it's immediate transactions. It appears also that he was two and thirty years old, when he was preparing his Oration against Midias, and yet at that time he had attained no name or power in the administration. This, indeed, seems to have been the reason of his dropping the prosecution for a sum of money. For,

no prayer, no moving art  
E'er bent that fierce inexorable heart<sup>33</sup>.

He was, in truth, vindictive in his nature, and implacable in his resentments. It was a difficult thing, he found, and out of the reach of his interest, to pull down a man so well supported upon all sides as Midias by wealth and friends; and he therefore listened to the application in his behalf. Had he seen any hopes or possibility of crushing his enemy, I cannot

<sup>31</sup> That is, 'Brass.'

<sup>32</sup> Ol. cvi. 4., B. C. 353. Demosthenes was then in his twentieth year (L.) On the war here mentioned, which broke out Ol. cv. 4. (Pausan. x. 2), and lasted nearly ten years, see a former note. The passage here referred to in Demosthenes, occurs in his *rep*

<sup>33</sup> p. vii.\*

<sup>33</sup> Pope.. Hom. Il. xx. 467.



think that three thousand drachmæ could have disarmed his anger.

He had a glorious subject for his political ambition, to defend the cause of Greece against Philip; and he defended it like a champion worthy of such a charge, speedily gaining a high reputation both for his eloquence and his courage. He was admired in Greece, and courted by the king of Persia. Nay, Philip himself had a much better opinion of him than of the other orators; and his enemies acknowledged, that they had to contend with a great man. For Æschines and Hyperides, in their very accusations, give him this character.

I wonder therefore how Theopompus<sup>34</sup> could state that he was a man of no steadiness, seldom long pleased either with the same persons or objects; when on the contrary it appears, that he adhered to the party and the measures which he first adopted, and was so far from forsaking them during his life, that he forfeited his life rather than forsake them. Demades, to excuse the inconsistency of his own public character, used to say; "I may have asserted things contrary to my former sentiments, but never any thing contrary to the true interest of the commonwealth." Melanopus<sup>35</sup>, who was of the opposite party to Callistratus, often suffered himself to be bought off, and then by way of apology to the people observed; "It is true, the man is my enemy, but the public good should be our ruling motive." And Nicodemus the Messenian, who first supported the interest of Cassander and subsequently that of Demetrius, alleged that "he was guilty of no inconsistency, for it was the best policy to side with the strongest." But we have

<sup>34</sup> This writer a native of Chios, beside his general turn for finding fault, was particularly hostile to Athens; which may account for his severity toward Demosthenes. The orator, however, was accused also by others of unsteadiness and caprice. See Æsch., *ii. p. 17*, &c.\*

<sup>35</sup> See Xenoph. *Hellen. vi.*, and Arist. *Rhet. i. 15*.

nothing of that kind to adduce against Demosthenes. He was no time-server, either in his words or his actions. The key of politics, which he first touched, he ever afterward invariably preserved.

The greatest part of his Orations, according to Panætius<sup>36</sup> the philosopher, are written upon this principle, that virtue is to be chosen simply for her own sake; that (for instance) ‘Concerning the Crown,’ that ‘against Aristocrates,’ that ‘for the Immunities,’ and the ‘Philippics.’ In all these, he exhorts his countrymen not to that which is most agreeable, or easy, or advantageous; but to regard honour and propriety as the first objects, and to deem the safety of the state a matter of secondary consideration. So that if, beside the noble ambition which animated his measures and the lofty turn of his addresses to the people, he had been blessed with military courage, and had kept his hands pure from bribes, he would not have been numbered with such orators as Myrocles<sup>37</sup>, Polyeuctus, and Hyperides; but would have deserved to be placed in a higher sphere with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

Among those who took the reins of government after him, Phocion, though not of the party in most esteem (I mean that, which seemed to favour the Macedonians) on account of his probity and valour, did not appear at all inferior to Ephialtes, Aristides, and Cimon. But Demosthenes had neither the courage, that could be trusted in the field, nor was

<sup>36</sup> Panætius was an eminent Stoic philosopher of Rhodes, the friend of Lælius and Scipio: and this passage most probably occurs in his Treatise on Duties, upon which Cicero founded his book, *De Officiis*, and which had for it's basis, *Solum honestum propter se expetendum esse*.\*

<sup>37</sup> Of this usurious orator see an account in Demosth. *Philippicæ*. lxxxii., and Arist. Rhet. iii. 10.

The Thucydides, mentioned below, must not be confounded with the historian of that name. See the Life of Pericles, II. 19; and also for farther particulars of Cimon and Ephialtes, the latter of whom was an intimate friend of that great statesman, and for his rigid honesty is celebrated by Ælian V. H. xi. 9.\*

he (as Demetrius expresses himself) sufficiently fortified against the impressions of money. Though he bore up under the assaults of corruption from Philip and the Macedonians, he was overpowered by the gold of Susa and Ecbatana. So that he was much better qualified to recommend, than to imitate, the virtues of our ancestors. It must be acknowledged however, that he excelled all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and conversation. And we find in his Orations, that he told the people the boldest truths, that he strenuously opposed their inclinations, and constantly rectified their mistakes. Theopompus also informs us that, when the Athenians wished to appoint him manager of a certain impeachment, and insisted upon it in a tumultuary manner, he rose up, and said, "My friends, I will be your counsellor, even if you don't wish it; but a false accuser I will not be, even if you do." His behaviour, in the case of Antipho, was of the aristocratic cast<sup>38</sup>. This man the people had acquitted in the general assembly, and yet Demosthenes carried him before the Areopagus; where, without paying any regard to the people's resentment, he proved that he had promised Philip to burn the arsenal: upon which he was condemned by the council, and put to death. He likewise accused the priestess Theoris of several misdemeanors, and among the rest, of having taught the slaves many arts of imposition. Such crimes, he insisted, were capital; and she was delivered over to the executioner.

Demosthenes is said to have written the Oration for Apollodorus, by which he carried his cause against the general Timotheus, in an action for debt to the public treasury, as also those others against Phormio and Stephanus; which formed a just exception against his character. For he composed likewise the Oration, which Phormio had pronounced against Apollodorus. This therefore was like fur-

<sup>38</sup> See his Orat. Neg. Erat. xlii.

nishing two enemies with weapons out of the same shop<sup>39</sup> to fight one another. He wrote also some public Orations for others, before he himself had any concern in the administration, viz. those against Androtion, Timocrates, and Aristocrates\*. For it appears, that he was only seven or eight-and-twenty years old<sup>40</sup>, when he published those Orations. That 'against Aristogiton,' and that 'for the Immunities,' he delivered himself, at the request (as he informs us) of Ctesippus<sup>41</sup> the son of Chabrias; though others tell us, it was because he paid his addresses to the young man's mother. He did not, however, marry her; for his wife, according to Demetrius the Magnesian, in his Account of persons of the same name<sup>42</sup>, was a woman of Samos. It is uncertain, whether that against Æschines, 'for having betrayed his trust as Ambassador<sup>43</sup>,' was ever spoken; though Idomeneus affirms, that Æschines was ac-

<sup>39</sup> This seems a dextrous allusion to his father's sword-cutlery. The charge against him, which it implies, is somewhat differently stated by Æschines (*πρὸς Παύλου* c. lii., and *κατὰ Κτηρ.* lvii.), but not less to his dishonour.\*

\* The two first for Diodorus, and the last for Euthycles. For the subjects see Taylor, I.

<sup>40</sup> Aul. Gel. xv. 28., where it is observed that Demosthenes and Cicero distinguished themselves by their eloquence at nearly an equal age; the former by his orations against Androtion and Timocrates, the later by his defence of P. Quinctius and Sext. Roscius \*

<sup>41</sup> With respect to this stupid and dissolute young man see the Life of Phocion, V. 9., and Athen. iv. 18. The passage, here referred to, occurs in the Oration *πρὸς Λεων.* \*

<sup>42</sup> This writer, by Dion. Halic. called Polyhistor or 'the Enlightened,' was contemporary with Cicero; and, beside the work here mentioned, had addressed to Atticus a Treatise on Concord. See Ep. ad Att. ix. 11., and Voss. de Hist. Græc. i. 23.\*

<sup>43</sup> In this Oration, Demosthenes accused Æschines of many capital crimes committed in the embassy, upon which he had been sent to oblige Philip to swear to the articles of peace. It is still extant, with Æschines' reply. (L.) That it was actually spoken appears, not only from the testimony of Idomeneus, but also from Photius (Biblioth. 61.), Ulpian (see Tayl. II. 309.), and Æschines' own letter (xii.) to the Athenian people, in which he infers the excellence of his administration from his having been acquitted, even though Demosthenes was his accuser.\*

quitted only by thirty votes. This seems not to be true, at least so far as may be conjectured from both their orations 'concerning the Crown:' for neither of them expressly mentions it as a cause, that ever came to trial. But this is a point, which we shall leave for others to decide.

Demosthenes, throughout the whole course of his political conduct, left none of the actions of the king of Macedon undisparaged. Even in time of peace, he seized every opportunity of raising suspicions against him among the Athenians, and of exciting their resentment. Hence, Philip looked upon him as a person of the utmost importance in Athens; and when he went with nine other deputies<sup>11</sup> to the court of that prince, after he had given them all audience, he answered the speech of Demosthenes with greater care than the rest. As to other marks of honour and respect, of these Demosthenes received not an equal share; they were bestowed principally upon Æschines and Philocrates. These envoys, therefore, were loud on all occasions in Philip's praise; and insisted, in particular, upon his eloquence, his beauty, and even his being able to drink an immense quantity of liquor. Demosthenes, who could not bear to hear him commended, turned these things off as trifles: "The first," he said, "was the pro-  
perty of a sophist, the second of a woman, and the third of a sponge; and not one of them could do any credit to a king."

It subsequently appeared, that nothing was to be expected but war; for on one hand Philip knew not how to sit down in tranquillity, and on the other Demosthenes was always inflaming the Athenians. In this case, his first step was to induce them to de-

\* Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, Patrocles, Cimon, Nausicles, Dercyllus, Phryno, Philocrates, and Æschines. These were sent first to sound Philip's inclination toward peace, and afterward to receive his ratification. Plutarch here, through lapse of memory, ascribes to Demosthenes what Æschines claims for himself (*Æsch. orat. viii.*) See also *Æl. V. H. viii. 12.*

spatch an armament to Eubœa, which had been brought by it's petty tyrants under Philip's yoke. Accordingly he drew up an edict, in pursuance of which they passed over to that peninsula, and expelled the Macedonians<sup>45</sup>. His second operation was the procuring of succours for the Byzantines and Perinthians, with whom Philip was then at war. He persuaded the people to drop their resentment, to forget the faults which both those nations had committed in the Confederate War, and to send a body of troops to their assistance. They did so, and saved them from ruin. After this he went ambassador to the states of Greece; and, by his animating addresses, persuaded nearly the whole of them to combine in the league against Philip. Beside the troops of the several cities, they took into pay an army of mercenaries, to the number of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, and readily contributed to the charge. Theophrastus informs us, that when the allies desired the quota of each might be settled, Crobylus the orator replied, "War cannot be kept at a set diet"<sup>46</sup>.

The eyes of all Greece were now upon these movements, and every body was anxious about the event. The cities of Eubœa, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Megarensians, the Leucadians, the Corcyræans,

<sup>45</sup> B. C. 341. See the Life of Phocion, who commanded upon that occasion, V. 15., and Æsch. ib. liii. The credit of this edict Demosthenes claims for himself, *περὶ Στρίφ.* xxiv.

Perinthus, mentioned below, was a strong city on the Propontis, which Philip obstinately besieged, and the inhabitants as obstinately defended. It was, at last, relieved by the Persians; and the Byzantines, who by sending it succours had drawn upon themselves that prince's resentment, owed their deliverance to Phocion. Diod. Sic. xvi. 74., &c., and Dem. ib. 21., 27.\*

<sup>46</sup> This is before recorded, in the Life of Cleomenes, V. 183., as having been said by Archidamus, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, &c. The monthly allowance of slaves, here alluded to, was called *Demensum*. See Ter. Phorm. i. 1., and Plaut. Stich. ii. By Harpocration and Suidas Crobylus is named Hegesippus, and for his political co-operation with Demosthenes was so much hated by Philip, that he banished the poet Xenocides for having received him at his table. Dem. *περὶ Πάσης*. xcii.\*

had each severally engaged for themselves against the Macedonians. Yet the greatest work still remained for Demosthenes to accomplish, which was to bring over the Thebans to the league. Their country bordered upon Alocæ: they had a large army on foot, and they were reckoned the best soldiers at that time in Greece. But they had incurred recent obligations to Philip in the Phocian War, and therefore it was not easy to draw them from his party; especially when they considered the frequent quarrels and acts of hostility, in which by their vicinity to Athens they had been engaged.

In the mean time Philip, elevated with his success at Amphissa<sup>47</sup>, surprised Elatea, and possessed himself of Phocis. The Athenians were struck with astonishment, and not one of them durst mount the Rostrum: no one knew what advice to give, and a melancholy silence reigned throughout the city. In this distress, Demosthenes alone stood forth, and proposed that application should be made to the Thebans. He likewise animated the people in his usual manner, and inspired them with fresh hopes; in consequence of which he was sent ambassador to Thebes, some others being joined in commission with him. Philip likewise on his part, as Marsyas informs us, despatched Amyntus and Clearchus, two Macedonians, Daochus the Thessalian, and Thrasidæus the Elean, to answer the Athenian deputies. The Thebans were not ignorant which way their true interest pointed, but each of them had the evils of war before his eyes; for their Phocian wounds were still fresh upon them. The powers of the orator however,

\* The Locri Ozolæ had violated the Delphic territory, and assassinated the envoys sent by the Amphictyonic council to make a survey and report upon the subject. Upon this, Philip was appointed generalissimo against them, and soon settled the matter. Dem. τῆς Στῆς. xlvii., &c. Elatea was a city of Phocis, on the confines of Boeotia. It's seizure is sublimely described by Dem. ib. liii.

Marsyas, mentioned below, was a native of Pella, and brother of Antigonus, who was one of Alexander's successors. He wrote ten books on the Affairs of Macedon.\*

as we are told by Theopompus, rekindled their courage and ambition so effectually, that all other objects were disregarded. They lost sight of fear, of caution, of every prior attachment, and through the force of his eloquence fell with enthusiastic transports into the path of honour.

So powerful indeed were his efforts, that Philip immediately sent ambassadors to Athens to apply for peace: Greece recovered her spirits, while she stood waiting for the event; and not only the Athenian generals, but the governors of Bœotia, were ready to execute the commands of Demosthenes. All the assemblies, as well those of Thebes as those of Athens, were under his direction: he was equally beloved, equally powerful in both places; and, as Theopompus proves, it was no more than his merit deserved. But the superior power of fortune, which seems to have been working a revolution, and drawing the liberties of Greece at that time to their period, opposed and baffled all his measures. The deity discovered many tokens of the approaching event. Among the rest, the priestess of Apollo delivered dreadful oracles, and an old prophecy from the Sibylline books was then in every body's mouth;

Far from Thermodon's banks, when stain'd with blood  
Bœotia trembles o'er the crimson flood,  
On eagle-pinions let me pierce the sky,  
And see the vanquish'd weep, the victor die!

This Thermodon<sup>48</sup>, they say, is a small river in our country near Chæronea, which falls into the Cephissus. At present we know no river of that name, but we conjecture that the Hæmon which runs by the temple of Hercules, where the Greeks encamped, might then be so called; and the battle having filled it with blood and dead bodies, it might on that account receive it's present appellation. Duris indeed affirms, that Thermodon was not a river;

<sup>48</sup> It is placed by Pausanias (x. 19.) near the city Glisas in Bœotia.\*



but that some of the soldiers, as they were pitching their tents and opening the trenches, found a small statue with an inscription signifying, that the person represented was Thermodon holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. There was another oracle, he adds, at that time much noticed ;

Fell bird of prey,  
Wait thou the plenteous harvest, which the sword  
Will give thee on Thermodon.

But it is difficult to pronounce, what truth there is in these accounts.

As to Demosthenes, he is said to have had such confidence in the Grecian arms, and to have been so much elated with the courage and spirit of so many brave men calling for the enemy, that he would not suffer them to regard any oracles or prophecies. He told them, that he suspected the prophetess herself of ‘Philippising’<sup>49</sup>. He reminded the Thebans of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles ; how they considered such things as mere pretexts of cowardice, and pursued the plan which their reason had dictated. Thus far, Demosthenes acquitted himself like a man of spirit and honour. But in the battle, he performed nothing worthy of the glorious things, which he had uttered. He quitted his post<sup>50</sup>, threw away his arms, and fled in the most infamous manner ; not ashamed (as Pytheas observes) to bely the inscription, which he had engraven upon his shield in golden characters, “TO GOOD FORTUNE.”

Immediately after the victory, Philip in the pride of his heart committed a thousand excesses<sup>51</sup>. He

<sup>49</sup> *Æsch. in Ctesiph. xlii.* \*

<sup>50</sup> This, if we trust his great political rival (*Æsch. in Pers. xlii.*) was not his first piece of cowardice. There is a ridiculous story told by the author of the *Lives of the Ten Orators*, that in his flight a thorn caught hold of his cloke ; upon which he screamed out, ‘Take me alive.’ See also *A. Gell. xvii. 21*. The battle of Charonea was fought B. C. 338, and Philip was assassinated two years afterward.\*

<sup>51</sup> Upon this subject *Justin. ix. 4.* and *Ælian. V. H. viii. 15.* differ

drank to intoxication, and danced over the dead, making a kind of song<sup>52</sup> of the first part of the decree which Demosthenes had procured, and beating time to it<sup>53</sup>; "Demosthenes the Pæanian, the son of Demosthenes, has decreed." But when he came to be sober again, and considered the dangers by which he had lately been surrounded, he trembled to think of the prodigious force and power of that orator, who had obliged him to risk both empire and life on the cast of a few hours of one single day<sup>54</sup>.

The fame of Demosthenes had reached the Persian court; and the king wrote letters to his lieutenants, commanding them to supply him with money, and to pay more court to him than to any other man in Greece; because he best knew how to make a diversion in his favour, by exciting fresh troubles, and finding employment for the Macedonian arms nearer home. This Alexander subsequently discovered from Demosthenes' letters, which he found at Sardis, and the papers of the Persian governors expressing the sums which had been advanced.

When the Greeks had lost this signal battle, those of the contrary faction attacked Demosthenes, and brought a variety of public accusations against him.

from Plutarch, and affirm that he behaved with great moderation; while Diod. Sic. xvi. 86, 87., and Sext. Empir. adv. Math. i. 13., agree with him. All however, not excepting Demosthenes himself, concur in representing him as finally very kind in his treatment of the Athenians.\*

<sup>52</sup> Deprived of it's first syllable, it assumes a regular trochaic form, the metre of joy and triumph:

Softly sweet, in Lydian measures,  
Soon he sooth'd his soul to pleasures, &c. &c.

<sup>53</sup> The subjoined couplet will give a very imperfect idea of this childish levity:

So Demosthenes decrees,  
Son of old Demosthenes !\*

<sup>54</sup> See Lucian in Encom. Demades likewise contributed to bring him to the right use of his reason, when he told him with such distinguished magnanimity, 'That fortune had placed him in the character of Agamemnon, but he chose to play the part of Thersites.'

The people however not only acquitted him, but treated him with the same respect as before, and called him again to the helm as a person whom they knew to be a well-wisher to his country; and, when the bones of those who fell at Chæronea were brought home to be interred, they selected him to pronounce the funeral oration<sup>55</sup>. They were therefore so far from bearing their misfortune in a mean and dastardly manner, as Theopompus exaggeratingly states, that by the great honour which they paid to the adviser, they showed they did not repent of having followed his advice.

Demosthenes accordingly made the oration. Yet, after this, he did not prefix his own name to his edicts, because he considered fortune as inauspicious to him<sup>56</sup>; but sometimes that of one friend, sometimes that of another, till upon Philip's death he recovered his spirits. For that prince did not long survive his victory at Chæronea; and his fate seemed to have been presignified in the last of the verses above quoted:

And see the vanquish'd weep, the victor die!

Demosthenes had secret intelligence of his death, and in order to prepossess the people with hopes of good success to come, he entered the assembly with a gay countenance, pretending that he had seen a vision which announced something great for Athens. Soon afterward, messengers arrived with an account of Philip's death. The Athenians immediately offered sacrifices of acknowledgement to the gods for so happy an event, and voted a crown to Pausanias [his assassin]. Demosthenes on this occasion made his

<sup>55</sup> See Dem. *περὶ Στρίφ.* lxxxviii., and Æsch. in Ctesiph. xlviii. The Oration now extant under this character is regarded as supposititious by Don. Halic. *περὶ τῆς Δημοκρίτου*, xxii.\*

<sup>56</sup> And this is urged against him both by Dinarchus, and by Æsch. ib. xlix.. The measure however here ascribed to Demosthenes is by Æschines referred not to his modesty, but to a regulation made by the Athenians themselves.\*

appearance in magnificent attire, and with a garland upon his head, though it was only the seventh day after his daughter's death, as we are told by *Æschines* <sup>57</sup>, who on that account reproaches him as an unnatural father. But he must himself have been of an ignoble and effeminate disposition, if he considered tears and lamentations as marks of a kind and affectionate parent, and condemned the man who bore such a loss with moderation. At the same time, I do not pretend to say that the Athenians acted honourably in crowning themselves with flowers, or in sacrificing upon the death of a prince, who had behaved to them with so much gentleness and humanity in their misfortunes. For it was a meanness below contempt, to honour him in his life, and to admit him a citizen; and yet, after he was fallen by the hands of another, not to restrain their joy within any bounds, but to insult the dead and sing triumphal songs, as if they had themselves performed some extraordinary feat of valour.

I commend Demosthenes indeed for having left the tears and other instances of mourning, which his domestic misfortunes might claim, to the women; and engaged in such actions, as he deemed conducive to the welfare of his country. For I think a man of that firmness and other abilities, which a statesman ought to possess, should always keep the common concern in view, and look upon his private accidents or business as considerations greatly inferior to those of the public. In consequence of which, he will be far more careful to maintain his dignity, than actors who personate kings and tyrants; and yet these, we see, neither laugh nor weep according to the dictates of their own passions, but as they are directed by the subject of the drama. It is universally acknowledged, that we are not to abandon the

<sup>57</sup> *Ib.* xxix. in a most beautiful passage. See also l. and lxxviii. Plutarch refers to the same story in his *Consolatory Treatise to Apollonius*; and Cicero likewise in his *Tusc.* iii. 26.\*

unhappy to their sorrows, but to endeavour to console them by rational discourse, or by diverting their attention to more agreeable objects; in the same manner as we desire those, who have weak eyes, to turn them from bright and dazzling colours to green, or others of a softer kind. And what better consolation can there be under domestic afflictions, than to attemper and alleviate them with the public success<sup>59</sup>, so that in such a mixture the bad may be corrected by the good? These reflexions we thought proper to make, because we have observed that this discourse of Æschines has weakened the minds of many persons, and encouraged them to indulge in all the effeminacy of sorrow.

Demosthenes now a second time solicited the states of Greece, and they entered once more into the league. The Thebans, having been furnished by him with arms, attacked the garrison in their citadel, and killed great numbers; and the Athenians prepared to join them in the war. Demosthenes mounted the Rostrum almost every day; and he wrote to the king of Persia's lieutenants in Asia, to urge them to commence hostilities from that quarter against Alexander, whom he called a 'boy,' a 'second Margites'<sup>60</sup>.

But when Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country, and marched into Bœotia with all his forces, the pride of the Athenians was humbled, and the spirit of Demosthenes died away. They deserted the Thebans, and that unhappy people had to support the whole fury of the war by themselves; in consequence of which, they lost their city<sup>61</sup>. The Athe-

<sup>59</sup> This was a consolation, of which Cicero felt the want, upon the death of his daughter. See *Ep. Fam.* iv. 6.\*

<sup>60</sup> Homer wrote a satire against this Margites, who appears to have been a very contemptible character, (L.) but only a few fragments of it remain. For his scurrility, Demosthenes is severely reprov'd by Æsch. *ib.* l. See also the *Life of Phocion*, V. 20., and the *Life of Alexander*, IV. 255.\*

<sup>61</sup> B. C. 333. The news of this event so struck the Athenians, that they even quitted the Great Mysteries, which they were then celebrating.\*

nians were in deep trouble and confusion; and they could devise no better measure, than the despatching of Demosthenes and some others as ambassadors to Alexander. But Demosthenes, dreading the anger of that monarch, turned back at Mount Cithæron, and relinquished his commission<sup>62</sup>. Alexander immediately sent deputies to Athens, to demand (according to Idomeneus and Duris) that they would deliver up ten of their orators. But the greatest part, and those the most reputable of the historians affirm, that he demanded only the eight following: Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Demon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus<sup>63</sup>. Upon this occasion, Demosthenes related to the people the fable of the sheep, who were required to give up their dogs to the wolves, before they would grant them peace: by which he insinuated, that he and the other orators were the guards of the people, as the dogs were of the flock; and that Alexander of Macedon was the great wolf<sup>64</sup>. And again: "As we see merchants carrying about a small sample in a dish, by which they sell large quantities of wheat; so you in us, though unconsciously, deliver up the whole body of citizens." These particulars we have from Aristobulus of Cassandria.

<sup>62</sup> According to Diod. Sic. xvii., and Justin. xi. 3, 4., there were two embassies sent to Alexander; the first, of which Demosthenes was a member, prior to the fall of Thebes.\*

<sup>63</sup> Of these, next to Demosthenes, Lycurgus was the most eminent; not only for his eloquence, but for his purity of character. Demon was Demosthenes' sister's son. Charidemus fled to Darius, and was by him for his republican plainness of speech put to death. (Q. Curt. iii. 5.) Ephialtes went envoy to the Persian court, and fell bravely fighting in a sally made against the Macedonians from Halicarnassus.\*

<sup>64</sup> *Μονολύκνοι*, called by other writers *Μονοπύργοι* and *Μονοί*. They are a peculiar kind of wolves, which prey separately, and (as Arist. Hist. Anim. viii. 5. informs us) upon men. See Lucian in Ep. Saturn. and in Timone, Boch. Hierozoïc. iii. 10., &c.

Aristobulus, mentioned below, accompanied Alexander into the East, and wrote a History of his Expedition, to which Arrian owns his obligations. His hero, however, appears to have been less satisfied with his narrative; as he is said, upon reading the account of his engagement with Porus, to have thrown the volume into the river.\*

The Athenians deliberated upon the point in full assembly; and Demades observing them in much perplexity, offered to go alone to the king of Macedon, and intercede for the orators, on condition that each of them should give him five talents; whether it was, that he depended upon the friendship of that prince, or hoped to find him like a lion satiated with blood. He succeeded, however, in his application for the orators, and reconciled him to the city.

When Alexander returned to Macedon, the reputation of Demades and the other orators of his party greatly increased, and that of Demosthenes gradually declined. It is true, he raised his head a little, when Agis II. king of Sparta took the field, but it soon drooped again; for the Athenians refused to join that prince, he himself fell in battle, and the Lacedæmonians were entirely put to the rout<sup>65</sup>.

About this time<sup>66</sup>, the affair 'concerning the Crown' came again under discussion. The information was first laid in the archonship of Chærondas a little before the battle of Chæronea\*; and the cause was not determined till ten years afterward<sup>67</sup>, in that of Aristophon. It was the most celebrated cause that ever was pleaded, on account as well of the high

<sup>65</sup> This happened B. C. 330, in an action with Antipater, while Alexander was in Asia. See Diod. Sic. xvii., Q. Curt. vi. 1.\*

<sup>66</sup> Demosthenes rebuilt the walls of Athens at his own expense; for which the people, on the motion of Ctesiphon, decreed him a Crown of gold. This excited Æschines' jealousy, and induced him to bring the celebrated impeachment (nominally against Ctesiphon, but virtually against Demosthenes) which drew forth from the latter the inimitable Oration *περὶ Στεφ.* in reply.

\* Upon this subject, see a very elaborate discussion in Taylor's Demosth. II. 600., &c. from which, chiefly upon the authority of Corsini (Fast. Att.), it appears that Chærondas must have given name to three successive years (Ol. ex. 1, 2, 3.); to the first two, as one of the nine Archons representing, perhaps casually, the real Eponymî Theophrastus and Lysimachides, and to the last as Eponymus himself. Some, however, have supposed, on the evidence of Æschines, that for a 'little before' we should read 'a little after.' (Ib. 602.)\*

<sup>67</sup> Plutarch must be mistaken here. The interval appears not to have been more than eight years, unless we adopt Cicero's theory, in the preamble to his Version of these two celebrated Orations, *De Opt. Gen. Oratorum*, and Taylor's modest reasoning, II. 599., &c. But these are calculations of little moment.

reputation of the orators, as the generous behaviour of the judges. For though Demosthenes' prosecutors were then in high power, as being entirely in the Macedonian interest, the judges would not give their voices against him; but on the contrary, acquitted him so honourably, that Æschines had not a fifth part of the suffrages<sup>68</sup>. Æschines immediately quitted Athens, and spent the rest of his days in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes and in Ionia.

It was not long after this, that Harpalus came from Asia to Athens<sup>69</sup>. He had fled from the service of Alexander, both because he was conscious of having falsified his trust in order to minister to his pleasures, and because he dreaded his master, who was now become terrible even to his best friends. As he applied to the people of Athens for shelter, and desired protection for his ships and treasures, most of the orators had an eye upon his wealth, and supported his application with all their interest. Demosthenes at first advised them to send him immediately away, and to be particularly careful not again to involve the city in war without any just or necessary cause.

Yet a few days afterward, when they were taking an account of the treasure, as Harpalus perceived that Demosthenes was much pleased with one of the king's cups, and stood admiring the workmanship and fashion, he desired him to take it in his hand, and feel the weight of the gold. Demosthenes being

<sup>68</sup> This was justly deemed, in all cases, a most ignominious circumstance; and imposed upon the accuser a fine of a thousand drachmas. (L.) It was at Rhodes, as we are told by Plin. Ep. ii. 3., that Æschines recited the two Orations here spoken of, and when that of Demosthenes in particular drew forth the tumultuous acclamations of his audience, cried, 'But what, if you had heard the wild beast himself bellowing out these tremendous expressions!'

<sup>69</sup> B. C. 327. Harpalus had the charge of Alexander's treasure in Babylon; where, flattering himself that he would never return from his Indian expedition, he had indulged himself in every species of guilt and excess. At last, when he found that Alexander was really coming back, and that he took a severe account of such people as himself, he fled with five thousand talents and six thousand men into Attica. See Athen. xiii., Diod. Sic. xvii. 108., and the Life of Phocion, V. 25.



surprised at it's heaviness, and asking Harpalus how much it might bring; "It will bring you," said he smiling, "twenty talents." And as soon as it was night, he sent him the cup with that sum. For Harpalus knew well enough how to distinguish a man's passion for gold by his pleasure at the sight, and the keen looks which he cast upon it. Demosthenes could not resist the temptation; it made all the impression upon him, that was expected: he received the money, like a garrison, into his house, and went over to Harpalus' interest. Next day, he came into the assembly with a quantity of wool and bandages about his neck; and, when the people called upon him to get up and speak, he made signs that he had lost his voice. Upon which some facetious bystanders said, "It was no common hoarseness, that he had got in the night; but a hoarseness brought on by swallowing gold and silver<sup>70</sup>." Afterward, when all the people were apprised of his having taken the bribe, and he wished to speak in his own defence, they would not suffer him, but raised a loud clamour and expressed their indignation. At the same time, somebody or other stood up and sneeringly said, "Will you not listen to the man with the cup?"<sup>71</sup> The Athenians then immediately sent Harpalus off; and fearing they might be called to account for the money with which the orators had been corrupted, they made a strict inquiry after it, and searched all their habitations except that of Callicles the son of Arrenides; whom they spared (as Theopompus says) because he was newly married, and his bride was then in his house<sup>72</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> This is referred to a different occasion by Critolaüs, A Gell. ii. 9.; and specifically by Ju. Poll. vii. 24. to Demades, but improbably, "as he was himself condemned for the same crime."

<sup>71</sup> This alludes to a custom of the ancients at their feasts, in which it was usual for the person who held the cup to sing a song, called *σκαλῆν*, on account of the cup's passing obliquely from one guest to another.

<sup>72</sup> Ulp. Pandect. ii. informs us, that a newly married man was not liable to be summoned into court.\*

At the same time Demosthenes, seemingly with a design to prove his innocence, moved for an order that the affair should be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all persons punished who should be found guilty of having received bribes. In consequence of which, he appeared before that court, and was one of the first convicted<sup>73</sup>. Being sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be imprisoned till it was paid, the disgrace of his conviction and the weakness of his constitution, which could not bear close confinement, determined him to fly; and this he did, undiscovered by some, and assisted by others. It is said that when he was not far from the city, he perceived some of his late adversaries following, and endeavoured to hide himself. But they called to him by name<sup>74</sup>, and when they came nearer, desired him to accept some necessary supplies of money, which they had brought with them for that purpose. They assured him, they had no other design in following him, and exhorted him to take courage. But Demosthenes broke out into more violent expressions of grief than ever, and said, "What comfort can I have, when I leave behind me enemies in this city more generous, than it seems possible to find friends in any other? His exile he bore in a very weak and effeminate manner. For the most part, he resided in Ægina or Troezen<sup>75</sup>; and, whenever he looked toward Attica, the tears fell from his eyes. In his expressions, there was no-

<sup>73</sup> Unjustly, according to Luc. in *Encom.*; though it is difficult to conceive that the whole court of Areopagus would combine against him with Hyperides, his accuser. Pausanias, however (ii. 33.), adduces some strong proofs of his innocence.\*

<sup>74</sup> Photius (with a change of names) relates that Æschines, when he left Athens, was followed and assisted by Demosthenes; and that, when he offered him consolation, he made the same answer. This circumstance is likewise mentioned in *'the Lives of the Ten Orators.'* See also Æschines' second letter.

<sup>75</sup> A city of Argolis, opposite Athens, beyond the Saronic gulf; whither the Athenians sent their wives and children, on Xerxes' invasion.\*

thing of a rational firmness ; nothing correspondent to the bold things which he had said and done in his administration. When he left Athens, we are told, he lifted up his hands toward the citadel, and exclaimed ; “ O Minerva, goddess of those towers, “ whence is it that thou delightest in three such “ monsters as an owl, a dragon<sup>76</sup>, and the people ? ” The young men, who resorted to him for instruction, he advised by no means to meddle with affairs of state. He told them, “ That if two roads had been “ shown him at first, the one leading to the Rostrum “ and the popular assemblies, and the other to certain destruction ; and he could have foreseen the “ evils, the fears, the envy, the calumny, and the “ contention, which awaited him in the political “ walk, he would have preferred that which led to “ immediate death.”

During the exile of Demosthenes, Alexander died<sup>77</sup>. The Greek cities once more combining upon that event, Leosthenes performed great things ; and among the rest, drew a line of circumvallation round Antipater, whom he had shut up in Lamia<sup>78</sup>. Pythias the orator, with Callimedon and Carabus, left Athens ; and going over to Antipater, accompanied his friends and ambassadors in their applications to the Greeks, and in exhorting them not to desert the Macedonian cause, or to listen to the Athenians. On the other hand, Demosthenes joined the Athenian deputies, and strenuously exerted himself along with them in advising the states to fall with united efforts upon the Macedonians, and drive them out of Greece. Phylarchus<sup>79</sup> informs us that,

<sup>76</sup> The owl was even stamped on the coin of her favourite city, and one or two dragons, called *οὐροειδὲς*, were constantly kept in her temple in the citadel. The people is by Hor., Ep. I. i. 75., called *Bellua multorum capitum*.\*

<sup>77</sup> B. C. 324. Demosthenes was then in his fifty-eighth year.

<sup>78</sup> Of this war, and of Callimedon, see an account in the Life of Phocion, V. 27. 32. See also Diod. Sic. xviii., Justin. xi. 5., and Pausan.\*

<sup>79</sup> This historian, who was contemporary with the Ptolemies Euer-

in one of the cities of Arcadia, Pytheas and Demosthenes spoke with extreme acrimony; the one in pleading for the Macedonians, and the other for the Greeks. Pytheas is reported to have said, "As some sickness is always supposed to be in the house, into which ass' milk is brought; so the city, which an Athenian embassy ever enters, must necessarily be in a weak and decaying condition." Demosthenes turned the comparison against him, by saying, "As ass' milk never enters, but for curing the sick; so the Athenians never appear, but for remedying some disorder."

The people of Athens were so much pleased with this repartee, that they immediately voted his recall. It was Damon the Pæanian, cousin-german to Demosthenes, who drew up the decree. A galley was sent to fetch him from Ægina; and when he came up from the Piræus to Athens, the whole body of citizens went to meet and congratulate him upon his return, so that there was neither a magistrate nor a priest left in the town. Demetrius of Magnesia acquaints us, that Demosthenes lifted up his hands to heaven in thanks for that happy day: "Happier," said he, "is my return, than that of Alcibiades. It was through compulsion, that the Athenians restored him; but me they have recalled from motives of kindness and affection."

The fine, however, still remained due; for they could not extend their grace so far as to repeal his sentence. But they found out a method of evading the law, even while they seemed to comply with it. It was the custom, in the sacrifices to Jupiter the Preserver, to pay the persons who prepared and adorned the altars. They, therefore, appointed Demosthenes to this charge: and ordered that he should have fifty talents, the sum to which his fine amounted, in compensation for his trouble.

But he did not long enjoy his return to his coun-

getes and Philopator, composed a History of Events from Pyrrhus' expedition into Peloponnesus to the death of the former of those princes.\*

try. The affairs of Greece soon went to ruin. They lost the battle of Crano<sup>80</sup> in the month of Metagition, a Macedonian garrison entered Munychia in Boëdromion, and Demosthenes perished in Pyanepsion.

This last event happened in the following manner: When intelligence was brought, that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demosthenes and those of his party hastened to escape<sup>81</sup> privately before their arrival. Upon this the people, on the motion of Demades, condemned them to death. As they fled different ways, Antipater sent a company of soldiers about the country to seize them. Archias surnamed Phugadotheras, or 'the Exile-hunter,' was their captain. He was a native of Thurium, it is said, and had been some time a tragedian; and Polus of Ægina (they add) who excelled all the actors of his time, was his scholar. Hermippus reckons Archias among the disciples of Lacritus the rhetorician, and Demetrius states that he spent some time at the school of Anaximenes. This Archias however drew Hyperides the orator, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Himeræus the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean, out of the temple of Æacus in Ægina, where they had taken refuge, and sent them to Antipater at Cleonæ. There they were executed; and Hyperides is said to have first had his tongue cut out<sup>82</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> To Antipater and Craterus. See Diod. Sic. xviii. Crano was a city of Thessaly, on the Peneus.\*

<sup>81</sup> Not from fear of Antipater, as it is generally supposed, for he had not yet required them to be given up, but of their own countrymen. Corn. Nepos says, they were only banished; and that, it does not appear, whether for their mal-administration, or their desertion of the city in its calamities. Upon this subject an oration of Lycurgus is extant, which Æschines *κατὰ Κτηρ.* xciii. seems to condemn for its severity. Demades being incapable, from the infamous frequency of his public convictions, of making any motion to the people, was restored to accusatorial competency by a decree made expressly for that purpose. Of Polus the celebrated actor, mentioned below, an interesting story is told by A. Gell. vii. 5.\*

<sup>82</sup> By the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators, he is said to have bit it off, lest he should be constrained to divulge the secrets

Archias, being informed that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Calauria, passed over to it with his Thracian soldiers in row-boats. As soon as he had landed, he went to the orator, and endeavoured to persuade him to quit the temple, and to go with him to Antipater; assuring him, that he had no hard treatment to expect. But it happened, that Demosthenes had seen a strange vision the night before. He thought that he was contending with Archias, which could best play the tragedian; that he succeeded in his action, had the audience on his side, and would certainly have obtained the prize, had not Archias outdone him in the dresses and decorations of the theatre. When Archias therefore had addressed him with a great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes upon him, and said without rising from his seat; "Your acting did not move me formerly, nor will your promises move me now." Archias then began to threaten him: upon which he added, "Before, you acted a part; now, you speak as from the Macedonian tripod<sup>83</sup>. Only wait a while till I have sent my last orders to my family." So saying, he retired into the inner part of the temple, and taking some paper as if he meant to write, he put the pen in his mouth and bit it a considerable time, as he used to do when meditating his compositions, after which he covered his head, and held it in a reclining posture. The soldiers who stood at the door, apprehending that he took these methods to defer the fatal stroke, laughed at him, and called him coward. Archias then approaching him desired him to rise, and began to repeat his promises of making his peace with Antipater. Demosthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poison he had taken strong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon Archias;

of the state: but Plutarch's account is the more probable, as he had been a most furious opponent to Antipater and the Macedonians.\*

\*<sup>83</sup> Referring to that of Delphi, upon which the Pythones received her inspiration.\*

"Now," said he, "you may act the part of Creon"<sup>84</sup> "in the play as soon as you please, and cast out this "carcase of mine unburied. For my part, O gracious Neptune, I quit thy temple still breathing; "but Antipater and the Macedonians would not "have scrupled to profane it with murder." By this time he could scarcely stand, and therefore he desired them to support him. But in attempting to walk out, he fell by the side of the altar<sup>85</sup>, and expired with a groan.

Aristo says, he sucked the poison (as we have related) from a pen. One Pappus, whose Memoirs were recovered by Hermippus, reports that when he fell by the altar, there was found on his paper the beginning of a letter, "Demosthenes to Antipater," and nothing more. People being surprised, he adds, that he died so quickly, the Thracians who stood at the door assured them that he took the poison in his hand out of a piece of cloth, and put it to his mouth; and that to them it had the appearance of gold. Upon inquiry made by Archias, a young maid who served Demosthenes said, he had long carried that piece of cloth by way of amulet. Eratosthenes informs us, that he kept the poison in the hollow of a bracelet button, which he wore upon his arm<sup>86</sup>. Many others have written upon the subject; but it is not necessary to transcribe all their different accounts. We shall only add, on the authority of Democcharis one of his servants, that he did not think his death owing to poison, but to the favour of

<sup>84</sup> Alluding to that passage in the Antigone of Sophocles (25., &c.) where Creon forbids the body of Polynices to be buried.

<sup>85</sup> Hence, perhaps the inscription *Επιτάφιος* on the marble found some years ago among the ruins of Hadrian's villa, and sent over to Dr. Mead. Demosthenes died B. C. 322.\*

<sup>86</sup> See Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 1. The Democharis, mentioned below, is said by Cicero to have been Demosthenes' sister's son, and to have written an oratorical History of Athens during his own times. (Brut. lxxxiii.) Both as a warrior and a statesman, he is commended by the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators. See Seneca de Ira. lib. 29.\*

the gods and a happy providence, which snatched him from the cruelty of the Macedonians<sup>87</sup> by a speedy and easy death. He died on the sixteenth of Pyanepsion, which is the most mournful day in the ceremonies of the Thesmophoria<sup>88</sup>; the women keeping it with fasting in the temple of Ceres.

It was not long before the people of Athens paid him the honours that were due to him, by erecting his statue in brass, and decreeing that the eldest of his family should be maintained in the Prytaneum at the public charge. The following celebrated inscription was put upon the pedestal of his statue :

Had like thy eloquence thy valour shone,  
Greece ne'er had served the Mars of Macedon.

For no regard is to be paid to those, who assert that Demosthenes himself uttered these lines in Calauria, just before he took the poison<sup>89</sup>.

A little before I visited Athens, the following adventure is said to have happened. A soldier, being summoned to appear before the commanding officer upon some misdemeanor, put his little stock of gold into the hands of the statue of Demosthenes, which

<sup>87</sup> Lucian in *Encom.* supposes, with however but little probability, that Antipater wished to have availed himself of his talents in public business! \*

<sup>88</sup> This was an annual festival in honour of Ceres Legifera. (*Virg. Æn.* iv. 57.) It began upon the fourteenth of that month, and ended the eighteenth. It's third day was a day of fasting and mortification.

<sup>89</sup> This inscription (which he himself wrote, if we may trust Photius, *Biblioth. Cod.* 265., a little before his death in a kind of pocket-book), far from doing Demosthenes honour, is the greatest disgrace that the Athenians could have fixed upon his memory. It reproaches him with a weakness, which when the safety of his country was at stake, implied such a deplorable want of virtue and manhood, as no parts or talents could expiate. (L.) 'When I look back to the long and eventful period during which Mr. Fox was excluded from power, and to the unfortunate result of the measures pursued by other statesmen, I cannot help applying to him this distich.' (*Parr's Character of Fox*, II, 573.) As Mr. Fox never served in the army, the reproach which, according to L., it implies, can have no application to his memory. \*



were in some measure clenched. A small plane-tree grew near it; and many leaves, either accidentally lodged there by the winds, or purposely so placed by the soldier, covered the gold a considerable time. When he returned and found his money entire, the fame of this accident was spread abroad, and many of the wits of Athens strove which could write the best copy of verses, to vindicate Demosthenes from the charge of corruption.

As for Demades, he did not long enjoy the new honours, which he had acquired. The being who took it in charge to revenge Demosthenes, led him into Macedon<sup>90</sup>, where he justly perished by the hands of those, whom he had basely flattered. They had for some time hated him; but at last they caught him in a fact, which could neither be excused nor pardoned. Letters of his were intercepted, in which he exhorted Perdiccas to seize Macedon and preserve Greece, which (he said) "hung only by an old rotten stalk," meaning Antipater. Dinarchus the Corinthian<sup>91</sup> accusing him of this treason, Cassander was so much provoked, that he stabbed his son in his arms, and afterward gave orders for his execution. Thus, by the most dreadful misfortunes, he learned that traitors always first fell themselves; a truth which Demosthenes had often told him before<sup>92</sup>, though he would never believe it. Such, my Sossius, is the Life of Demosthenes, which we have compiled in the best manner we could from books and from tradition.

<sup>90</sup> See the Life of Phocion, V. 27.

<sup>91</sup> One of the Ten Orators, and by Demosth. *πρὸς Στρίφ.* xci, pronounced a traitor. He was a friend of Theophrastus, and Demetrius the Phalerean.

<sup>92</sup> In Orat. *ib.* xiv.

# THE LIFE

OF

## CICERO.

### SUMMARY:

*His extraction; surname, and birth. He distinguishes himself among his school-fellows; applies himself to the study of philosophy, and serves under Sylla. His first cause. He travels into Greece, and attaches himself to the opinions of the New Academy; visits the most celebrated rhetoricians in Asia. His caution on returning to Rome. His too frequent jests and repartees? Quæstorship in Sicily: Passion for glory. He learns the names and places of abode of the more eminent citizens. His disinterestedness. Affair of Verres: Cicero procures his condemnation. His private life, and popularity at Rome. Causes during his prætorship. Manilius. He is elected consul. Faction at Rome. Conspiracy of Catiline, who with Antony runs for the consulship. Cicero's difficulties at entering upon his office. He procures the rejection of Rullus' Agrarian bill. His irresistible eloquence. Catiline calls troops to Rome. Cicero lays before the senate his informations; and is invested with absolute power. Catiline in vain attempts to get him assassinated. Lentulus places himself at the head of the conspirators in Rome. Their plans. They enter into a negotiation with the ambassadors of the Allobroges. Lentulus, and the other ringleaders, are arrested. Cicero's resolution, with regard to the mode of treating them. He is urged by his wife to severity. Cæsar's opinion; counteracted by that of Cato. The criminals are put to death. Marks of esteem shown to Cicero. Catiline falls in battle. Intrigues against Cicero. He is denominated, by a public decree, the Father of his Country; renders himself ob-*

notorious by his continual self-praises. His liberal commendations of his contemporaries. His jests upon Crassus : and *bons-mots*. Clodius, in the habit of a female musician, gets privately into Cæsar's house, during the celebration of the mysteries of the Bona Dea. Cicero gives evidence against him : but he is acquitted, and affects to be reconciled to him. Cæsar declares against Cicero : and Clodius summons him to trial. He goes abroad, and is banished. Efforts made by the senate for his restoration. He is recalled. Exultation of the people. Acts of Clodius' tribuneship destroyed. Affair of Milo. He goes proconsul into Cilicia. His conduct there. Upon his return, he finds Rome divided between Cæsar and Pompey : joins the latter, and is blamed for it by Cato. His railleries in Pompey's camp. He sets out to meet Cæsar, who receives him with great honour. Ligarius. He withdraws from public business, and gives himself up to study. Divorces his wife Terentia, and marries a younger, whom he likewise puts away : Death of his daughter Tullia ; and of Cæsar. Antony excites the people against Cæsar's murderers : Mutual dislike between him and Cicero. Singular dream of the latter. He unites with Octavius, and draws over the senate to his party. Antony procures his proscription. He flies with his brother, who is betrayed and assassinated. His perplexities. He is put to death. His head and hands are exposed over the Rostra.

**THE** account which we have of Helvia the mother of Cicero is, that her family was noble<sup>1</sup>, and her character excellent. Of his father there is nothing said, but in extremes. For while some affirm that he was the son of a fuller<sup>2</sup>, and educated in the same trade, others deduce his origin from Attius Tullus<sup>3</sup>, a prince who governed the Volsci with great repu-

<sup>1</sup> Cænna was of this family.

<sup>2</sup> Dion (xvi. 4.) informs us, that Q. Calenus was the author of this calumny. Cicero (de Leg. ii. 1., and iii. 16.) has himself said enough to prove, that both his father and grandfather were persons of property and of a liberal education. (L.) A similar account is given, *Ibid.* xi. 340. of Drances, in whom Virgil is by some supposed to have typified Cicero.

<sup>3</sup> The same prince, to whom Coriolanus retired nearly four hundred years before. Cicero himself appears to have had no con-

tation. Be that as it may, I think the first of the family, who bore the name of Cicero, must have been an extraordinary man; and hence his posterity did not reject the appellation, but rather adopted it with pleasure, though it was a common subject of ridicule: for the Latins call a vetch *cicer*, and he had a flat excrescence on the top of his nose in resemblance of a vetch, from which he got that surname<sup>4</sup>. As for the Cicero of whom we are writing, his friends advised him, upon his first application to business and soliciting one of the high offices of state, to lay aside the appellation or to change it. But he nobly replied, "That he would endeavour to make the name of Cicero more glorious, than that of the Scauri and the Catuli." When quæstor in Sicily, he consecrated in one of the temples a vase or some other offering in silver, upon which he inscribed his two first names Marcus Tullius; and, punning upon the third, ordered the artificer to engrave a vetch. Such is the account, which we have of his name.

He was born on the third of January<sup>5</sup>, the day upon which the magistrates now sacrifice and pay their devotions for the health of the emperor; and his mother is said to have been delivered of him without pain. It is also reported, that a spectre appeared to his nurse; and foretold that the child, whom she had the happiness to attend, would one day prove a signal benefit to the whole common-

sciousness of this royal lineage, but in a joke selects an ancestor from an illustrious Roman family. (Brut. 16.)

*Regia progenies, et Tullio sanguis ab alto.* (Sil. Ital.)

Festus, *voc.* Tullius, derives the name from the ancient situation of the family at the confluence of the Fibrenus and the Liris.\*

\* Pliny's account of the origin of this name is more probable. He supposes that the person, who first bore it, was remarkable for the cultivation of vetches. So Fabius, Lentulus, and Piso had their names from beans, tares, and peas. (H. N. xviii. 3.) This opinion is adopted by Middleton, in his Life of Cicero. Quintilian, however, i. 4., agrees with Plutarch.\*

<sup>5</sup> A. U. C. 647, B. C. 107. See Ep. ad. Att. vii. 5. xiii. 42. Pompey was born in the same year.

wealth of Rome. These things might have passed for idle dreams, had he not speedily demonstrated the truth of the prediction. When he was of a proper age to go to school, his genius broke out with such surpassing lustre, and he gained so distinguished a reputation among the boys, that the fathers of some of them repaired to the schools to see Cicero, and to have specimens of his capacity for literature; but the less civilised were angry with their sons, when they saw them take Cicero in the middle of them as they walked, and always give him the place of honour<sup>7</sup>. He had that turn of genius and disposition, which Plato<sup>8</sup> requires a scholar and a philosopher to possess. He had both capacity and inclination to learn all the arts, neither was there any branch of science that he despised: yet was he most inclined to poetry; and there is still extant a poem, entitled 'Pontius Glaucus<sup>9</sup>,' which was written by him when a boy, in tetrameter verse. In process of time, when he had studied this art with greater application, he was looked upon as the best poet, as well as the greatest orator in Rome. His reputation for oratory still remains, notwithstanding the considerable changes that have since been made in the language; but as many ingenious poets have appeared since his time, his poetry has lost it's credit, and is now neglected<sup>9</sup>.

When he had finished those studies through which

<sup>7</sup> Salt. Bell. Jug. 11.

<sup>8</sup> De Rep. v.

<sup>9</sup> This Glaucus was a celebrated fisherman of Anthodon near the Euripus, who after eating a certain herb jumped into the sea, and became one of the gods of that element. For more particulars of him, see Athen. vii. 12., and Paus. Boeot. xxii. Aeschylus wrote a tragedy upon the same subject. Cicero's poem is lost.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch was a very indifferent judge of Latin poetry; and his speaking with so much favour of Cicero's, contrary to the opinion of Juvenal and many others, is a strong proof of it. Cicero likewise translated Aratus into verse at the age of seventeen, and wrote a poetical panegyric upon Marius, which Scævola (de Legg. l. 1.) pronounced would live through innumerable ages. But it has been long dead: and the poem, which he wrote in three books upon his own Consulship, has shared the same fate.

boys commonly pass, he attended the lectures of Philo the academician<sup>10</sup>, whom of all the scholars of Clitomachus the Romans most admired for his eloquence, and loved for his conduct. At the same time, he made great improvement in the knowledge of the law under Mucius Scævola<sup>11</sup>, an eminent lawyer and president of the senate. He likewise acquired a little military knowledge under Sylla, in the Marsian war<sup>12</sup>. But afterward, finding the commonwealth engaged in civil contests, which were likely to end in nothing but absolute monarchy, he withdrew to a philosophic and contemplative life; conversing with men of letters from Greece, and making farther advances in science. This method of life he pursued, till Sylla had gained the ascendancy, and there appeared to be some established government again.

About this time, Sylla ordered to be sold by auction the estate of one of the citizens, who had fallen under the proscription; when it was knocked down to Chrysogonus, Sylla's freedman, at the small sum of two thousand drachmæ. Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, expressed his indignation, and declared that the estate was worth two hundred and fifty talents. Sylla, enraged at having his conduct thus publicly called in question, brought an action against Roscius for the murder of his father, and appointed Chrysogonus the manager: when such was the dread of the dictator's cruelty, that no man offered to appear in the young man's defence. In this distress, he applied to Cicero, whose friends urged him to come forward upon the occasion; thinking he could not have a nobler, or more glorious opportunity of entering the lists of fame. Accordingly he undertook his defence, succeeded, and gain-

<sup>10</sup> Brut. lxxxix., and Tusc. Quæst. ii. 9.\*

<sup>11</sup> Augur, and Consul A. U. C. 658. He also studied law under a pontiff of that name. (De Amic. l.)\*

<sup>12</sup> In the 18th year of his age. (Philipp. xii. 3.) This was also called the Social war. See the Life of Sylla, III.\*

ed great applause<sup>13</sup>. But fearing Sylla's resentment<sup>14</sup>, he travelled into Greece, and gave out that the recovery of his health was the motive. He was in reality of a lean and slender habit, and his stomach was so weak, that he was obliged to be very sparing in his diet, and not to eat till a late hour in the day. His voice however had a variety of inflexions, but was at the same time harsh and unformed; and as in the vehemence and enthusiasm of speaking he always rose into a loud key, there was reason to apprehend that it might injure his health.

When he came to Athens, he heard Antiochus the Ascalonite, and was charmed with the smoothness and the grace of his elocution, though he did not approve his innovations in philosophy. For Antiochus had left the New Academy (as it is called) and the sect of Carneades, either from clear conviction and from the strength of the evidence of sense<sup>15</sup>, or from a spirit of opposition to the schools of Clitomachus and Philo, and had adopted most of the doctrines of the Stoics<sup>16</sup>. But Cicero loved the New Academy, and leaned more and more to it's opinions; having already resolved, if he failed in his design of raising himself in the state, to retire from the Forum and all political intrigues to Athens, and spend his days in the quiet bosom of philosophy.

But not long afterward, he received the news of Sylla's death. His body had by this time acquired strength from exercise, and was now brought to a good habit. His voice was formed; and, at the same time that it was full and sonorous, had gained a sufficient sweetness, and was brought to a key

<sup>13</sup> B. C. 81, at the age of 26. This was his first public, or criminal cause. (Brut. 434.) He had previously tried his strength in some private causes, and among others, that of P. Quinctilius.\*

<sup>14</sup> This, Middleton affirms, was not the cause of his journey, as he continued a whole year subsequently in Rome. (Brut. 90, 91.)\*

<sup>15</sup> Which Arcesilas, the head of that Academy (a pupil of Polemo, Xenocrates' successor in the school of Plato), considered as disputable.\*

<sup>16</sup> See Acad. 1., and Brut. 91.

which his constitution could bear. Besides, his friends at Rome solicited him by letters to return, and Antiochus earnestly exhorted him to apply himself to public affairs. For which reasons he exercised afresh his rhetorical powers, as the best engines for business, and called forth his political talents. In short, he suffered not a single day to pass without either declaiming, or attending the most celebrated orators. In the prosecution of this design, he sailed to Asia and the island of Rhodes. Among the rhetoricians of Asia, he availed himself of the instructions of Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus of Caria. At Rhodes he studied under the rhetorician Apollonius the son of Molo<sup>16</sup>, and the philosopher Posidonius. It is said that Apollonius, not understanding the Roman language<sup>17</sup>, desired Cicero to declaim in Greek; with which he readily complied, because he thought his faults might thus the better be corrected. When he had ended his declamation, the rest were astonished at his performance, and strove which should praise him most: Apollonius alone showed no signs of pleasure while he was speaking, and when he had finished, sat for a long time thoughtful and silent. At last, observing the uneasiness which it gave his pupil, he said; "As for you, Cicero, I praise and admire you: but I am concerned for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left her, except the glory of eloquence and erudition, and that too you are bearing away to Rome." Cicero now prepared to apply himself to public affairs, with sanguine hopes of success; but his spirit received a check from the oracle at Delphi. For upon his inquiring by what means

<sup>16</sup> Not 'Apollonius the son of Molo,' but 'Apollonius Molo.' The same mistake is made by our author in the Life of Cæsar, IV. 359., not. (7.) Of all his masters Cicero gives an account, Brut. 91.

<sup>17</sup> From Val. Max. ii. 2. it appears that, out of respect to his abilities, he was the first foreigner, who was allowed to address the senate without an interpreter.



he might acquire the highest renown, the priestess bade him "follow nature, and not take the opinion of the multitude for the guide of his life." Hence it was that, after his coming to Rome, he acted at first with great caution. He was timorous and backward in applying for public offices, and had the mortification to find himself neglected, and called 'a Greek<sup>18</sup>,' and 'a scholastic;' terms, which artisans and others of the vulgar are very liberal in applying. But as he was naturally ambitious of honour, and spurred on besides by his father and his friends, he betook himself to the bar. Nor was it by slow and insensible degrees, that he gained the palm of eloquence; his fame shone forth at once, and he was distinguished above all the orators of Rome. Yet it is said, that his turn for action was naturally as defective as that of Demosthenes; and that therefore he profited as much as he could from the instructions of Roscius, who excelled in comedy, and of Æsopus whose talents lay in tragedy<sup>19</sup>. This Æsopus (we are told) when he was one day playing Atreus, in the passage where he considers how he should punish Thyestes, being worked up by his passion to a degree of insanity, struck with his sceptre a servant who happened suddenly to pass by, and laid him dead at his feet. In consequence of these helps, Cicero found his powers of persuasion not a little assisted by action and just pronounciation. But as for the bawling orators, he laughed at them, and said; "Their weakness made them rise into clamour, as lame men get on horseback." His excellence at hitting

<sup>18</sup> This appellation, given him by Calenus, p. 292,\* not. (2), was a mark of contempt among the Romans, as implying an obsequious and parasitical character. See Cic. in Pison. 28., and Juv. iii. 78.\*

<sup>19</sup> Middleton, however, arguing from his *De Orat.* l. 59, iii. 56, 59, *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 25, &c., thinks Cicero would have disdained such tuition, however he might have esteemed the tutors; and deems it more natural, that 'they who act in feigned life should take their pattern from the true, as Roscius and Æsopus are said to have attended all the trials in which Cicero pleaded, than that those who represent the true should copy from that which is feigned.'

off a jest or repartee animated his pleadings, and therefore seemed not foreign to the business of the Forum ; but by bringing it much into life, he offended many, and got the character of a malevolent man.

He was appointed quæstor at a period, when there was a scarcity of corn ; and having Sicily for his province, he gave the people considerable trouble at first, by compelling them to export their grain to Rome. But afterward, when they had had experience of his diligence, justice, and moderation, they honoured him more than any quæstor they had ever received from Rome. About that time a number of young Romans of noble families, who lay under the charge of having violated the rules of discipline, and not behaved with sufficient courage in actual service, were sent back to the prætor of Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, and acquitted himself of it with great ability and success. Upon his return to Rome, much elated with these advantages, he had (as he himself informs us<sup>10</sup>) a pleasant adventure. On the road through Campania, meeting a person of some eminence with whom he was acquainted, he asked him, “ What they said “ and thought of his actions in Rome ? ” imagining, that his name and the glory of his achievements had filled the whole city. His acquaintance answered, “ Why, where have you been then, Cicero, all this “ time ? ”

This answer extremely dispirited him ; for he found that the accounts of his conduct had been lost in Rome, as in an immense sea, and had made no remarkable addition to his reputation. By mature reflection upon this incident, he was brought to retrench his ambition, because he saw that contention for glory was an endless thing, and had no attainable limit. Nevertheless, his immoderate love of praise and his passion for glory always remained with him, and often interrupted his best and wisest designs.

<sup>10</sup> In his Oration for Plancius, 26.

When he began to dedicate himself more earnestly to public business, he thought that while mechanics know the name, and place, and use of all their tools and instruments (though those things are inanimate), it would be absurd for a statesman, whose functions cannot be performed but by means of men, to be negligent in acquainting himself with the citizens. He therefore made it his business to commit to memory not only their names, but the places of abode of the more eminent, what friends they most valued, and what neighbours were in their circle. So that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, he could easily point out the estates and houses of his friends.

Though his own estate was sufficient for his necessities, yet as it was small, it seemed strange that he would take neither fee nor present for his services at the bar. This was most remarkable in the case of Verres. Verres had been prætor in Sicily, and had committed numberless acts of injustice and oppression. The Sicilians prosecuted him, and Cicero gained the cause for them, not so much by pleading, as by forbearing to plead. The magistrates, from their partiality to Verres, put off the trial by several adjournments to the last day<sup>21</sup>; and as Cicero knew there was not time for the advocates to be heard and the matter determined in the usual method, he rose up and said, "There was no occasion for pleadings." He therefore brought up the witnesses, and after their depositions were taken, insisted that the judges should immediately pronounce their verdict.

Yet we have an account of several humorous sayings of Cicero's in this cause. When an emancipated slave (Cæcilius by name) who was suspected

<sup>21</sup> Not 'to the last day.' Cicero brought it on, a few days before Verres' friends here alluded to (Q. Hortensius and Q. Metellus, the consuls elect, and M. Metellus the new prætor) were to come into office. [The word *ἄσπετος*, as Barton remarks, may perhaps be used in this place indefinitely, or it may signify the legitimate duration of a cause, as in 1 Cor. iv. 3.\*] Of the seven Orations, which were composed upon the occasion, the two first only were delivered, 70., and drove Verres into voluntary exile.

of being a Jew, would have set aside the Sicilians, and taken the prosecution of Verres upon himself<sup>23</sup>; Cicero said, "What has a Jew to do with swine's flesh?" For the Romans call a boar-pig *verres*. And when Verres reproached Cicero with effeminacy, he answered, "Why do you not first reprove your own children?" For Verres had a young son, who was supposed to make an infamous use of his advantages of person. Hortensius the orator did not venture directly to plead the cause of Verres, but he was prevailed upon to appear in his behalf at the laying of the fine, and had received an ivory<sup>24</sup> sphinx from him as a kind of fee. In this case, Cicero threw out several enigmatical hints against Hortensius; and when he said, "He did not know how to solve riddles;" Cicero retorted, "That is somewhat strange, when you have a sphinx in your house."

Verres being thus condemned, Cicero set his fine at seven hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ; upon which, it was reported by censorious people, that he had been bribed to let him off so low<sup>24</sup>. The Sicilians however, in acknowledgement of his assistance, brought him, when he was ædile, a number of articles for his games and other very valuable presents; but he was so far from considering his private advantage, that he made no other use of their generosity, than to lower the price of provisions.

<sup>23</sup> Cicero knew that Cæcilius was secretly a friend to Verres, and anxious to bring him off. Against him therefore was the first of the Verrine orations, entitled *Divinatio*, directed; and it repelled his claim with success.\*

<sup>23</sup> Of bronze, according to Quint. vi. 3.; or of Corinthian brass, according to Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 8.\*

<sup>24</sup> This fine, indeed, was very inconsiderable. The legal fine for extortion, in such cases as that of Verres, was twice the sum extorted. The Sicilians laid a charge of £.322,916 against Verres: the fine must therefore have been £.645,832; but 750,000 drachmæ were only equivalent to £.24,218. Plutarch must therefore, most probably, have been mistaken. (L.)

From Cicero's own words, indeed, it appears that he laid his client's damages at above £.800,000. *Quo nomine à te milia restitui ex lege repeto.\**

He had a handsome country seat at Arpinum, a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but neither of them were very considerable. With his wife Terentia he received a fortune of a hundred and twenty thousand denarii, and he succeeded as heir to something that amounted to ninety thousand more. Upon this, he lived in a genteel and at the same time a frugal manner, with men of letters, both Greeks and Romans, about him. He rarely took his meal before sun-set: not that business, or study, prevented his sitting down to table sooner; but the weakness of his stomach, he thought, required such a regimen. He was so exact indeed in all respects in the care of his health, that he had his stated hours for rubbing, and for the exercise of walking. By this management of his constitution, he gained a sufficient stock of health and strength for the labours and fatigues, which he afterward underwent.

He relinquished the family town-house to his brother, and took up his residence on the Palatine hill<sup>22</sup>, that those who came to pay their court to him might not have too far to go. For he had a levee every day, not less than Crassus had for his wealth, or Pompey for his interest in the army; though they were the most followed, and the greatest men in Rome. Pompey himself showed him the utmost attention, and found his political assistance very useful to him, in respect both to power and to reputation.

When Cicero stood for the prætorship, he had many competitors who were persons of distinction, and yet he was returned first on the list. As a president in the courts of justice, he acted with the utmost integrity and honour. Licinius Macer, who had considerable interest of his own, and was supported besides by that of Crassus, was accused before him of some default with regard to money. He had so much confidence however in his own in-

<sup>22</sup> This house, for renting which he was contemptuously called by Catiline *lucubrator*, he subsequently purchased from Crassus (Ep. ad Fam. v. 6.)

fluence and the activity of his friends, that when the judges were going to decide the cause, it is said he went home, cut his hair, and put on a white habit as if he had gained the victory, and was about to return so equipped to the Forum. But Crassus met him in his court-yard, and told him that all the judges had given their verdict against him; which affected him in such a manner, that he turned back again, took to his bed, and died<sup>25</sup>. Cicero gained honour by this affair, for it appeared that he kept strict watch against corruption in the court.

There was another person named Vatinius<sup>26</sup>, an insolent orator, who paid very little respect to the judges in his pleadings. It happened, that he had his neck full of scrophulous swellings. This man applied to Cicero about some business or other; and as that magistrate did not immediately comply with his request, but sat some time deliberating, he said; "I could easily swallow such a thing, if I were prætor:" upon which Cicero turned round, and replied, "But I have not so large a throat."

When only two or three days of his office remained unexpired, an information was laid against Manilius for having embezzled the public money. Manilius, who was a favourite with the people, and prosecuted in their opinion solely on Pompey's account (being his particular friend), desired to have a day fixed for

<sup>25</sup> The story is differently related by Valerius Maximus (ix. 12.) He says that Mæcer was in court waiting the issue, and perceiving that Cicero was proceeding to give sentence against him, sent to inform him that he was dead, and immediately suffocated himself with his handkerchief. Cicero therefore did not pronounce sentence against him, by which means his estate was saved to his son Licinius Cælus. Notwithstanding this, Cicero himself, in one of his Epistles to Atticus, affirms that he actually condemned him; and in the very next speaks of the popular esteem, which he gained by so doing (i. 3.) (L.) Mæcer was an advocate of merit, (Brut. 67.) and had composed some historical works. See Censorin. de Die Nat. 20.\*

<sup>26</sup> Of this fellow, whose proverbial scrophule is again referred to below, Seneca has given an admirable portrait, De Const. Sap. 17. A large throat was by the ancients accounted characteristic of impudence.\*

his trial ; and as Cicero appointed the very next, the people were much offended, because it had been customary for the prætors to allow the accused ten days at the least. The tribunes therefore cited Cicero to appear before the commons, and give an account of this proceeding. He desired to be heard in his own defence, which was to the following effect: " As  
 " I have always behaved to persons impeached with  
 " all the moderation and humanity, which the laws  
 " will allow, I thought it wrong to lose the opportunity of showing Manilius the same candour. I was  
 " master only of one day more in my office of prætor, and consequently must appoint that ; for to  
 " have left the decision of the cause to another magistrate was not the method for those, who were  
 " inclined to serve Manilius." This made a wonderful change in the minds of the people ; they were lavish in their praises, and desired him to undertake the defence himself, with which he readily complied ; his regard for Pompey, who was absent, not being his smallest inducement. In consequence of this, he again presented himself before the commons ; and giving an account of the whole affair, took the opportunity of making severe reflexions upon those who favoured oligarchy, and envied Pompey's glory<sup>27</sup>.

Yet, for the sake of their country, the patricians joined the plebeians in raising him to the consulship. The occasion was as follows: The change, which Sylla had introduced into the constitution, at first appeared uneasy ; but by time and custom it came to an establishment, which many thought not disagreeable. At present there were some who sought to effect another change, merely in order to gratify their own avarice, and without the least view to the public good. Pompey was engaged with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and there was no force in Rome sufficient to hold in check the authors of this projected innovation. They had for their chief a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, and the most

<sup>27</sup> This beautiful Oration is still extant.

remarkable versatility of manners, called Lucius Catiline. Beside a variety of other crimes, he was accused of having debauched his own daughter, and killed his own brother. To screen himself from prosecution for the latter, he persuaded Sylla to put his brother among the proscribed, as if he had been still alive. These profligates, with such a leader, among other engagements of secrecy and fidelity sacrificed a man, and ate of his flesh<sup>28</sup>. Catiline had corrupted numbers of the Roman youth, by indulging their desires in every form of pleasure, providing them wine and women, and setting no bounds to their extravagance for these purposes. All Tuscany, and the greatest part of Cisalpine Gaul, were ripe for a revolt. The vast inequality of the citizens in point of property prepared Rome, likewise, for a change. Men of spirit among the nobility had impoverished themselves by their enormous expenses on public exhibitions and entertainments, on bribing for offices, and on magnificent buildings, by which means the riches of the city were fallen into the hands of low people. In this tottering state of the commonwealth, there needed no mighty force to upset it: it was in the power of any bold adventurer to accomplish its ruin.

Catiline however, before he began his operations, wanted a strong fort from which to make his sallies, and with that view stood for the consulship. His prospect seemed very promising, because he hoped to have Caius Antonius for his colleague; a man who had no firm principles either good or bad, nor any resolution of his own, but who would form a considerable addition to the power of any guiding chief. Many persons of virtue and honour, perceiving this danger, proposed Cicero for the consulship, and the people accepted him with pleasure. Thus Catiline

<sup>28</sup> Or, as Sallust (Bell. Cat. 23.) informs us, without however full assurance, 'drank of his blood.' The character, here given of Catiline, is confirmed and expanded by that illustrious historian.



was baffled, and Cicero<sup>29</sup> and Gaius Antonius were appointed consuls; though Cicero's father was only of the equestrian order, and his competitors were of patrician families.

Catiline's designs were not yet disclosed to the people.<sup>30</sup> Cicero however, at his entrance on his office, had great affairs upon his hands, the preludes of what was to follow. On the one side, those who had been incapacitated by the laws of Sylla from bearing offices, a powerful and numerous body, began now to solicit them, and to make all possible interest with the people. It is true, they alleged many just and good arguments against the tyranny of Sylla, but the period was unseasonable. On the other side, the tribunes of the people proposed laws, which had the same tendency to distress the government; for they wished to appoint Decemvirs, and to invest them with unlimited authority. This was to extend over the whole of Italy, Syria, and all Pompey's late conquests. They were to be commissioned to sell the public lands in these countries, to judge or banish whom they pleased, to plant colonies, to take money out of the public treasury, and to levy and keep on foot what troops they might deem necessary. Many Romans of high distinction were pleased with the bill, and in particular Cicero's colleague, Antony, who hoped to be one of the ten. It was thought, likewise, that he was no stranger to Catiline's designs; and that, on account of his immense debt, he did not disrelish them. This was an alarming circumstance to all, who had the good of their country at heart; and against it Cicero first made provision, by getting the province of Macedon decreed to Antony, and not taking that of Gaul allotted to himself. With this favour Antony was so much delighted, that he was ready,\* like a hired player, to act a subordinate part under Cicero for

<sup>29</sup> B. C. 63. According to Asconius, there were six competitors.\*

the benefit of his country. Having thus managed his colleague, Cicero began with greater courage to take his measures against the seditious party. He adduced his objections against the bill in the senate, and effectually silenced the proposers<sup>30</sup>. They seized another opportunity however, and coming prepared, insisted that the consuls should appear before the people. Cicero, not in the least intimidated, commanded the senate to follow him, and addressed the commons with such success, that they threw out the bill. His victorious eloquence indeed had such an effect upon the tribunes, that they abandoned also some other projects, which they had in meditation.

He was in fact the man, who most effectually showed the Romans what charms eloquence can add to truth, and that justice when properly supported is invincible. He showed them also that a magistrate, who watches for the good of the community, should always in his actions prefer right to popular measures; and in his speeches should know how to make those right measures agreeable, by separating from them whatever may give offence. Of the grace and power, with which he spoke, we have a proof in a theatrical regulation adopted during his consulship. Previously, those of the equestrian order sat mixed with the commonalty. Marcus Otho in his prætorship was the first, who separated the knights from the other citizens, and appointed them seats which they still enjoy<sup>31</sup>. The people looked upon this as a mark of dishonour, and hissed and insulted Otho, when he appeared in the theatre. The knights, on the other hand, received him with loud plaudits.

<sup>30</sup> This was the first of his three Orations *de Lege Agraria*. (L.) The other two were addressed to the people. They are all extant, but the last in a very mutilated condition.\*

<sup>31</sup> About four years before, under the consulship of Piso and Glabrio. But Otho, whose other names were Luc. Roscius, was not then prætor; he was tribune. (Liv. Epit. xcix., Dio xxxvi. 25.)

The people repeated their hissing, and the knights their applause, till at last they came to mutual reproaches, and threw the whole theatre into the utmost disorder. Cicero being informed of the disturbance, came and summoned the people to the temple of Bellona; where partly by his reproofs, and partly by his lenity, he so corrected them, that they returned to the theatre, loudly testified their approbation of Otho's conduct, and strove with the knights which should do him the most honour.

Catiline's conspiracy, which at first had been intimidated and discouraged, was now beginning to recover its spirits. The accomplices assembled, and exhorted each other to commence their operations with vigour before the return of Pompey, who was said to be already marching homeward with his forces. But Catiline's chief motive for action was the dependence, which he placed on Sylla's veterans. Though these were scattered all over Italy, the greatest and most warlike part resided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were again plundering and sharing among themselves the wealth of Italy. They had Manlius for their leader (a man, who had served with high distinction under Sylla), and entering at this time into Catiline's views, they came to Rome to assist in the approaching election; for he was now a second time suing for the consulship, and had resolved to assassinate Cicero in the tumult of that assembly.

The gods seemed to presignify the machinations of these incendiaries by earthquakes, and thunders, and apparitions<sup>32</sup>. There were also intimations from human authorities, true enough in themselves, but not sufficient for the conviction of a person of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero, therefore, adjourned the day of election; and having summoned Catiline before the senate, examined him upon the informations which

<sup>32</sup> Of these Cicero himself gives a long detail, *Catil.* iii. 8., and *De Div.* i. 17. They are also referred to by *Dio* xxxvii. 25., and by *Jul. Obseq. de Prodigia*.\*

he had received. Catiline, believing there were many in the senate desirous of a change, and at the same time happy to show his resolution to his accomplices who were then present, answered with a calm firmness; "As there are two bodies, one of them feeble and decayed yet with a head, the other strong and robust without one, what harm am I doing, if I give a head to the body that wants it?" By these enigmatical expressions, he meant the senate and the people. Cicero, consequently, was still more alarmed. On the day of election, he put on a coat of mail; the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the Campus Martius. There he threw back his robe, and displayed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was again rejected, and Silanus and Murena chosen consuls.

Not long after this, when the veterans were assembling for Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the first and most illustrious personages in Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight; and having called the porter, bade him awake his master, and tell him who attended. Their business was as follows: Crassus' porter had brought him in a packet of letters after supper, which he had received from a person unknown. They were directed to different persons, and there was an anonymous one for Crassus himself. This alone he read, and when he found that it conveyed in-

<sup>33</sup> See the Life of Crassus, III. 465. It is rather surprising that Sallust, who is anxious to acquit Crassus of all participation in the conspiracy, makes no mention of this letter, and his consequent communication of it to Cicero. The English reader will be reminded by it of a similar detection, in the case of the Gunpowder-plot, effected by an anonymous letter sent to Lord Montague.\*

formation of a horrible massacre intended by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city, without opening the rest, he immediately hurried to wait upon Cicero. For he was not only terrified at the impending danger, but he had also to remove some suspicion, which had arisen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero, having consulted with them what was proper to be done, assembled the senate at break of day, and delivered the letters according to their directions, desiring at the same time that they might be read in public. They all concurred in giving the same account of the conspiracy.

Quintus Arrius likewise, a man of prætorian dignity, informed the senate of the levies which had been made in Etruria, and assured them that Manlius with a considerable force was hovering about those parts, and only waiting for news of an insurrection in Rome. Upon these informations the senate made a decree, by which all affairs were committed to the consuls, and they were empowered to act in the manner which they should deem best for the preservation of the commonwealth. This is an edict, which the senate seldom issue, and never except in some imminent danger<sup>31</sup>.

When Cicero was invested with this power, he committed the care of things without the city to Quintus Metellus, and took the direction of all within upon himself. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by such a multitude of people, that they filled great part of the Forum. Catiline, unable to support any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army; and ordered Marcus and Cethegus<sup>32</sup> to take their swords and go to Cicero's house early in the morning, where under pretence of paying their compliments they were to attack and kill him. But Fulvia, a woman

<sup>31</sup> Cæs. Bell. Civ. l. 5.

<sup>32</sup> These names are not correct; but Cicero, Sallust, and Appian are too much at variance with each other, to enable us to give them with precision.

of quality, went to Cicero in the night to inform him of his danger, and charged him to be on his guard, particularly against Cethegus. As soon as it was light, the assassins came; and being denied entrance, grew very insolent and clamorous, which however only rendered them the more suspected.

Cicero went out afterward, and assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, which stands at the entrance of the Via Sacra, on the way to the Palatine hill. Among the rest Catiline appeared, as with a design to make his defence, but there was not a senator who would sit near him: they all left his bench, and when he began to speak, they interrupted him in such a manner, that he could not be heard.

At length Cicero rose up, and commanded him to depart the city<sup>36</sup>. "For," said he, "while I employ only words, and you weapons, there should at least be walls between us." Catiline upon this immediately marched out with three hundred men well armed, and with the fasces and other ensigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magistrate. In this manner he joined Manlius, and having assembled an army of twenty thousand men, went round to the cities, in order to persuade them to revolt. Hostilities being thus openly commenced, Antony, Cicero's colleague, was sent against him.

Those whom Catiline had corrupted, and thought proper to leave in Rome, were kept together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus surnamed Sura, a man of noble birth but profligate life. He had been expelled from the senate for his debaucheries, but was then a second time prætor, for that was a customary qualification, when ejected persons were to be restored to their places in the senate<sup>37</sup>. As to

<sup>36</sup> Not by express words, for that would have been invidious, but indirectly, by laying open the whole plan of the conspiracy, and bitterly reproaching him for his nefarious project. Something, most like the passage here quoted, occurs *Orat. Catil. i. 5.*\*

<sup>37</sup> When a Roman senator was expelled, an appointment to a

the surname of Sura, it is said to have been given him on the following occasion: When he was quaestor in the time of Sylla, he had lavished away immense sums of the public money. Sylla, incensed at his behaviour, demanded an account of him in full senate. Upon this, Lentulus came up in a most negligent and disrespectful manner, and said, "I have no account to give you, but I present you with the calf of my leg<sup>38</sup>;" which was a common expression among the boys, when they had missed their stroke at tennis. Hence he had the surname of Sura [the Roman term for the calf of the leg]. At another time, being prosecuted for some great offence, he corrupted the judges. When they had given their verdict, though he was acquitted by only a majority of two, he said; "He had put himself to a needless expense in bribing one of those judges, for it would have been sufficient to have had a majority of one."

Such was the disposition of this man, who had not only been solicited by Catiline, but was moreover infatuated with vain hopes, which prognosticators and other impostors had inspired. They forged verses in an oracular form, and brought them to him as from the books of the Sybils. These lying prophecies signified the decree of fate, "That three of the Corneli should be monarchs of Rome." They added, "That two had already fulfilled their destiny, Cinna and Sylla: that he was the third, to whom the gods now offered the monarchy; and that he ought by all means to embrace his high fortune, and not ruin it by delays, as Catiline had done."

praetorship was, among others, a sufficient qualification for him to resume his seat. (Dio xxxvii.)

<sup>38</sup> Viz. To be struck by the ball—So Turnebus explains it, *Advers.* vii. 4., and to this custom Persius probably alludes:

*Cædimus inque vicem præbemus crura.* (Sat. iv. 42.)

This derivation however, as referred to the conspirator Lentulus, is obviously false; the name being of considerable antiquity. See *Liv.* xxii. 81.\*

Nothing little or trivial now entered into Lentulus' schemes: he resolved to murder the whole senate, and as many of the other citizens as he possibly could, to burn the city, and to spare none but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize and hold as hostages for a peace with that general. For by this time it was strongly reported, that he was on his return from his great expedition. The conspirators had fixed upon a night during the feast of the Saturnalia<sup>39</sup> for the execution of their enterprise, had lodged arms and combustibles in the house of Cethegus, and having divided Rome into a hundred parts, had selected the same number of men, to each of whom was allotted his quarter to be set on fire. As this was to be done by them all at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general: others were to intercept the water, and kill all that went to seek it.

While these things were preparing there happened to be at Rome two ambassadors from the Allobroges, a nation which had been much oppressed by the Romans, and was very impatient under their yoke<sup>40</sup>. These Lentulus and his party judged proper persons to raise commotions in Gaul, and bring over that country to their interest, and therefore they made them partners in the conspiracy. They likewise charged them with letters to their magistrates, and to Catiline. To the Gauls they promised liberty; and they desired Catiline to enfranchise the slaves, and march immediately to Rome. Along with the ambassadors, they sent one Titus of Crotona, to carry the letters to Catiline. But the measures of these inconsiderate men, who generally consulted upon their affairs over their wine and in company

<sup>39</sup> This festival is celebrated about the end of December, when the nights are of their greatest length.

According to Sallust (Bell. Catil. 44.) the city was only divided into a dozen parts. The same historian gives a full detail of the subsequent transactions of the conspirators with the ambassadors of the Allobroges (*hodie Dauphiné, and nearly the whole of Savoy*)\*

\* <sup>40</sup> *Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox.* (Her. Epod. xvi. 6.)\*



with women, were soon detected by the indefatigable diligence, sober address, and great capacity of Cicero. He had his emissaries in every part of the city, to trace all their steps; and he had, besides, a secret correspondence with many who pretended to join in the conspiracy, by which means he got intelligence of their treating with those strangers.

In consequence of this, he laid an ambush for the Crotonian in the night, and seized him and the letters; the ambassadors themselves privately lending him their assistance<sup>41</sup>. Early in the morning he assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, where he read the letters, and took the depositions of the witnesses. Junius Silanus deposed, that several persons had heard Cethegus say, "Three consuls and four prætors would very soon be killed." The evidence of Piso, a man of consular dignity, contained circumstances of a similar nature. And Caius Sulpitius one of the prætors, who had been sent to Cethegus' house, discovered there a large quantity of javelins, swords, poniards, and other arms, all newly furnished. At last, the senate giving the Crotonian a promise of indemnity, Lentulus beheld himself entirely detected, and laying down his office (for he was then prætor), put off his purple robe in the house, and took another more suitable to his present distress. Upon which, both he and his accomplices were delivered to the prætors<sup>42</sup> to be kept in custody, but not in chains.

It was now late, and as the people were waiting without in great numbers for the event of the day; Cicero went out and gave them an account of it. After which they conducted him to the house of a friend, who lived in his neighbourhood; his own

<sup>41</sup> These ambassadors had been solicited by Umbrenus to join his party; but upon mature deliberation they thought it safest to abide by the state, and accordingly discovered the plot to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their nation.

<sup>42</sup> Or other public characters, according to Sallust, Bell. Catil.\*

being occupied by the women, who were then employed in the mysterious rites of the goddess, whom the Romans call Bona (or 'the Good') and the Greeks *Gynecea*<sup>43</sup>. An annual sacrifice is offered her in the consul's house by his wife and mother, and the vestal virgins give their attendance. When Cicero was retired to the apartments assigned him, with only a few friends, he began to consider what punishment he should inflict upon the criminals. He was extremely loth to proceed to a capital one, which the nature of their offence seemed to demand, as well on account of the mildness of his disposition, as from the apprehension of being censured for making an extravagant and severe use of his power against men, who were of the first families and had powerful connexions in Rome. On the other side, if he gave them a more gentle chastisement, he thought he should still have something to fear from them. He knew that they would never rest with any thing less than death, but would rather break out into the most desperate villainies, when their former wickedness should be sharpened by fresh resentment. Besides, he might himself be branded with the mark of timidity and weakness, and the rather because he was generally supposed not to possess much courage.

Before he could come to a fixed resolution, the women who were sacrificing observed an extraordinary presage. When the fire on the altar seemed to be extinguished, a strong and bright flame suddenly burst forth from the embers<sup>44</sup>. The other women were terrified at the prodigy; but the vestal virgins ordered Terentia, Cicero's wife, to go to him immediately, and command him from them, "Boldly to

<sup>43</sup> See the Life of Cæsar, IV. 366., and Juv. vi. 315. These mysteries might also be celebrated in the house of the prætor. (Ib.)\*

<sup>44</sup> See Suet. in Tib. xiv., and Virg. Ecl. viii. 105., upon which Servius refers to this very circumstance, as attested by Cicero in his Poem upon his own Consulship; though no allusion to it is now to be found, even in his *De Div.* i. 17., where the prodigies attending his consulship are enumerated.\*

“ follow his best judgment in the service of his country ; because the goddess, by the brightness of this flame, promised him not only safety but glory in his enterprise.” Terentia was by no means of a meek and timorous disposition, but had her ambition, and (as Cicero himself says) took a larger share with him in politics, than she permitted him to take in domestic business in return. She now informed him of the prodigy, and exasperated him against the criminals. His brother Quintus, and Publius Nigridius<sup>45</sup> one of his philosophical friends, of whom he made considerable use in the administration, strengthened him in the same purpose.

Next day, the senate met to deliberate upon the punishment of the conspirators ; and Silanus being first asked his opinion, moved for sending them to prison, and punishing them in the severest manner that was possible. The rest in their order agreed with him, till it came to Caius Cæsar, who was subsequently dictator. Cæsar then a young man, and just in the dawn of power both in his measures and his hopes, was taking that road which he pursued, till he converted the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy. This was not at that time indeed observed by others, but Cicero had strong suspicions of him<sup>46</sup>. He took care, however, not to give him any handle against him. Some say, the consul had almost obtained the necessary proofs, and that Cæsar had a very narrow escape. Others assert that Cicero purposely neglected the informations which might have been had against him, from a fear of his friends and his great interest. For, had Cæsar been brought under the same predicament with the conspirators,

<sup>45</sup> P. Nigridius Figulus, the most learned of the Romans after Varro (A. Gell. iv. 9.), was highly esteemed by Cicero, as the same writer informs us, xi. 11., on account of his talents and acquisitions, but still more for his co-operation in public measures. See Ep. ad Fam. iv. 13. He composed several works, and among the rest a Treatise upon Animals, and another on Grammar. He followed the fortunes of Pompey, and died in exile B. C. 45.\*

<sup>46</sup> See the Life of Cæsar, IV. §61.

it would rather have contributed to save than to destroy them.

When it came to his turn to give judgement, he rose and moved; "Not for punishing them capitally, but for confiscating their estates, and lodging them in any of the towns of Italy that Cicero should select, where they might be kept in chains till Catiline was conquered<sup>47</sup>." To this opinion, which was on the merciful side, and supported with much eloquence by him who gave it, Cicero himself added no small weight. For in his speech<sup>48</sup> he gave the arguments at large for both opinions, first for the former, and subsequently for that of Cæsar. And all Cicero's friends, thinking it would be less invidious for him to avoid putting the criminals to death, were for the latter sentence; insomuch that even Silanus changed sides, and excused himself by saying that he did not mean capital punishment, as imprisonment was the most severe infliction which a Roman senator could suffer.

The matter thus went on, till it came to Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital punishment, and Cato \* supported him, expressing in strong terms his suspicions of Cæsar; which so roused the spirit and indignation of the senate, that they passed a decree for sending the conspirators to execution. Cæsar then opposed the confiscating of their estates; for he said it was unreasonable, when they rejected the mild part of his sentence, to adopt the severe. As the majority still insisted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes indeed did not put in their

<sup>47</sup> Plutarch seems here to intimate that, after the defeat of Catiline they might be put upon their trial; but it appears from Sallust, and Cic. in Cat. iv. 5., that Cæsar had no such intention.

<sup>48</sup> The fourth of the Catilinarian orations, sect. 4. From this very ingenious harangue, and from Ep. ad Att. xii. 21. (as well as from Suetonius, and Dio), it appears that Cæsar was the first, who recommended a merciful punishment; though Sallust, Bell. Cat. 49., and Appian, Bell. Civ. ii., state that in this he was preceded by Tiberius Nero.\*

\* See IV. 365., and V. 72.

intercession, but Cicero himself gave up the point, and agreed that their estates should not be forfeited.

After this, Cicero went at the head of the senate to the criminals, who were not all lodged in one house, but in those of the several prætors. First he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill, and led him down the Via Sacra, and through the middle of the Forum. The principal persons in Rome attended the consul on all sides, like a guard; the people stood silent at the horror of the scene; and the youth looked on with fear and astonishment, as if they were that day initiated<sup>49</sup> in some awful ceremonies of aristocratic power. When he had passed the Forum, and was come to the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the executioner. Afterward he brought Cethegus, and all the rest in their order, and they were put to death. On his return he saw others, who were involved in the conspiracy, standing thick in the Forum. As these did not know the fate of their ringleaders, they were waiting for night in order to go to their rescue, for they supposed them yet alive. Cicero, therefore, called out to them aloud, "They did live<sup>51</sup>." In this manner the Romans, who choose to avoid all inauspicious words, express death.

It was now growing late, and as he passed through the Forum to his own house, the people conducted him, not in a silent and orderly manner, but hailing him with loud acclamations and plaudits, and pronouncing him 'the Saviour and second Founder of Rome.' The streets were illuminated<sup>51</sup> with a

<sup>49</sup> This metaphor refers to the Eleusinian Mysteries, in which those about to be initiated were tried by many dreadful processes, alternations of light and darkness, shakings of the temple, horrible apparitions, &c. previously to their final admission. Of these Claudian, *de Rapt. Proserp.* i., has given a striking account. See also Theophrast. *ap. Stob. Serm. cxix.*, and Meurs. *Eleus.* xi.\*

<sup>50</sup> Of this mode of expression examples occur in Plaut. *Bacch.* i. 2. *Capt.* iii. 3. *Trucul.* i. 2., *Tibul. Eleg.* iii. 5., *Virg. Æn.* ii. 325., &c. &c.\*

<sup>51</sup> Illuminations are of high antiquity. They came originally

multitude of lamps and torches, placed by the doors. The women held out lights from the tops of the houses, that they might behold and pay a proper compliment to the man now followed in solemn procession by a train of the most illustrious citizens in Rome, most of whom had distinguished themselves by successful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the empire both by sea and land. All these, in their discourse with each other as they went along, acknowledged that Rome was indebted to many generals and heroes of that age for pecuniary acquisitions, for rich spoils, and for power; but for preservation and safety, to Cicero alone, who had rescued her from so imminent and dreadful a danger. Not that his quashing the enterprise, and punishing the delinquents, appeared so extraordinary a thing: but the wonder was that he should have suppressed the greatest conspiracy that ever existed with so little inconvenience to the state, without the smallest sedition or tumult: for many, who had joined Catiline, left him on receiving intelligence of the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus; and that traitor, giving Antony battle with the troops that remained, was destroyed with his whole army.

Yet a few were displeased by this conduct and success of Cicero, and inclined to do him all possible injury. At their head were some of the magistrates for the ensuing year; Cæsar who was to be prætor, and Metellus and Bestia tribunes<sup>52</sup>. These last, having entered upon their office a few days before that of Cicero expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their own benches on the Rostra, and only gave him permission to take

from the nocturnal celebration of religious mysteries: and upon that account involved the idea of veneration and respect.

<sup>52</sup> Bestia went out of office on the eighth of December. Metellus and Sextius were tribunes. (L) To the former of these Cicero confines the charge of this injurious treatment. Ep. ad Fam. x. 2, and in Pison. 3.\*

the oath upon laying down his office<sup>53</sup>, after which he was immediately to descend. Accordingly when Cicero went up, it was expected that he would take the customary oath; but, silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one which was new and singular. The purport of it was, that "He had saved his country, and preserved the empire;" and all the people joined in it.

This exasperated Cæsar and the tribunes still more, and they endeavoured to create him new troubles. Among other things, they proposed a decree for calling Pompey home with his army, to suppress the despotic power of Cicero. Happily for him, and for the whole commonwealth, Cato was then one of the tribunes. He opposed them with an authority equal to theirs, and a reputation much superior, and consequently broke their measures with ease. He made a set speech upon Cicero's consulship, and represented it in so glorious a light, that the highest honours were decreed him, and he was denominated 'the Father of his Country;' a mark of distinction, which none had ever obtained before. Cato bestowed that title upon him before the people, and they confirmed it".

His authority in Rome at that time was, undoubtedly, great; but he rendered himself obnoxious to many, not by any bad action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself. He never entered the senate, the assembly of the people, or the courts of judicature, but Catiline and Lentulus were the burthen of his song. Not satisfied with this, his writings were so interlarded with encomiums on him-

<sup>53</sup> The consuls took two oaths, one upon entering into their office, that 'they would act according to the laws;' and the other upon quitting it, that 'they had not acted contrary to the laws.'

<sup>54</sup> Q. Catulus was the first, who gave him the title: Cato, as tribune, confirmed it before the people. (See Cic. in Pison. 3.)

*Roma Patrem Patriæ Ciceronem libera dicit.* (Juv. viii. 244.)

self, that though his stile was elegant and delightful, his discourses were disgusting and nauseous to the reader; for the blemish stuck to him, like an incurable disease.

But, with this insatiable avidity of honour, he was never unwilling that others should have their share. For he was entirely free from envy; and it appears by his works that he was most liberal in his praises, not only of the ancients, but of his contemporaries. Many of his remarkable sayings likewise, of this nature, are preserved. Thus of Aristotle he observed, "That he was a river of flowing gold;" and of Plato's dialogues, "That, if Jupiter were to speak, he would speak as he did." Theophrastus he used to call his "particular favourite;" and, being asked which of Demosthenes' orations he thought the best, he answered, "The longest." Some, who affect to be zealous admirers of that orator, complain indeed of Cicero's having said in one of his Epistles <sup>56</sup>, "That Demosthenes occasionally nodded in his orations;" but they forget the many great encomiums, which he bestowed upon him in other parts of his works, and do not consider that he gave the title of 'Philippics' to his own Orations against Mark Antony, which were his most elaborate compositions. There was not one of his contemporaries celebrated either for his eloquence or philosophy, whose fame he did not promote, either by speaking or writing of him in a favourable manner. He persuaded Cæsar, when dictator, to grant Cratippus the Peripatetic the freedom of Rome. He likewise prevailed upon the council of Arcopagus to make an order, desiring him to remain at Athens to instruct the youth, and not deprive their city of such an ornament. There are

<sup>56</sup> This is not now extant, but is mentioned by Quintilian x. 1. xii. 1. After all however, what is it but to pronounce him less than perfect? What is it more, than what Horace has pronounced of Homer? What is it, in short, but the inevitable condition of humanity itself? In his Orator he observes, that though Demosthenes does not realise his idea of perfection, he comes nearer to it than any other person.\*



moreover extant letters of Cicero to Herodes<sup>57</sup>, and others to his son, in which he directs them to study philosophy under Cratippus. But he accuses Gorgias the rhetorician of having accustomed his son to a life of pleasure and intemperance, and therefore forbids the young man his society<sup>58</sup>. Among his Greek letters this, and another to Pelops the Byzantine, are all that discover any thing of resentment. His reprimand to Gorgias was certainly proper, if he really were the worthless and dissolute man, which he was said to be; but he betrays an excessive meanness in his expostulations with Pelops, for having neglected to procure him certain honours from the city of Byzantium.

These were the effects of his vanity. Superior keenness of expression likewise, which he had at command, led him into many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius<sup>59</sup> in a certain cause, and his client was acquitted in consequence of his defence. At a subsequent period Munatius prosecuted Sabinus, one of Cicero's friends; upon which, he was so much transported with anger, as to say; "Dost thou suppose it was the merit of thy cause that saved thee, and not rather the cloud<sup>60</sup> which I threw over thy crimes, and which kept them out of the sight of the court?" He had succeeded in an encomium upon Marcus Crassus from the Rostrum; and a few days afterward as publicly reproached him. "What!" said Crassus, "did you not lately praise me, in the place where you now stand?" "True," answered Cicero, "but I did

<sup>57</sup> To whom Cicero had entrusted his son, during his residence at Athens, with a view of receiving from him occasional accounts of his proficiency. See Ep. ad Att. xiv. 16. xv. 16.\*

<sup>58</sup> See Ep. ad Fam. xvi. 21., in which young Cicero informs Tiro of his compliance with his father's prohibition.\*

<sup>59</sup> T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, who was tribune A. U. C. 701., and the enemy of Cicero and Milo. See Ep. ad Fam. vii. 2. Philipp. vi. 4.\*

<sup>60</sup> This, Cicero boasted he did in the cause of Cluentius, Quint. ii. 17.\*

“ it by way of experiment, to see what I could make  
 “ of a bad subject.” Crassus had once affirmed,  
 that none of his family ever lived above three-score  
 years ; but was subsequently desirous of contradict-  
 ing it, and said, “ What could I be thinking of, when  
 “ I asserted such a thing?” “ You knew,” said,  
 Cicero, “ that such an assertion would be highly  
 “ agreeable to the Roman people.” Crassus hap-  
 pened one day to profess himself much pleased with  
 that maxim of the Stoics, ‘ The good man is always  
 ‘ rich.’ “ I believe,” said Cicero, “ there is another  
 “ more agreeable to you, ‘ All things belong to the  
 “ prudent<sup>61</sup>.’” For Crassus was notoriously covetous.  
 Crassus had two sons, one of whom resembled a man  
 named Axius so much, that his mother was suspected  
 of having had an intrigue with him. This young man  
 spoke in the senate with great applause ; and Cicero,  
 being asked what he thought of him, answered in  
 Greek, *axios Crassus* <sup>62</sup>. When Crassus was about to  
 set out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero  
 his friend than his enemy, and therefore addressed  
 him one day in an obliging manner, and told him he  
 would come and sup with him<sup>63</sup>. Cicero accepted  
 the offer with equal politeness. A few days after-  
 ward Vatinius likewise applied to him by his friends,  
 and desired a reconciliation. “ What !” said Cicero,  
 “ does Vatinius too want to sup with me ?” which were  
 his jests upon Crassus.

Vatinius (as before observed) had scrophulous  
 tumours in his neck, and one day when he was plead-  
 ing, Cicero called him “ a tumid orator.” An ac-  
 count was once brought to him that Vatinius was  
 dead, which being subsequently contradicted, he

<sup>61</sup> *παντα ειναι τη σοφει*. The Greek *σοφει*, signifies ‘cunning, shrewd,  
 prudent,’ as well as ‘wise;’ and in any of the former acceptations  
 the Stoic maxim was applicable to Crassus. Thus *fi* *gi*, in Latin,  
 is used indifferently either for ‘saving prudence,’ or for ‘sober wis-  
 dom.’

<sup>62</sup> A scandalous pun, which might mean either that the young  
 man was worthy of Crassus, or that he was like Crassus.

<sup>63</sup> See Ep. ad. Fam. i. 9.\*

said, "Perdition seize the tongue, that told the "lie"<sup>64</sup>!" When Cæsar proposed a decree for distributing the lands in Campania among the soldiers, many of the senators were displeased at it; and Lucius Gellius<sup>65</sup> in particular, who was one of the oldest of them, declared, "That shall never be so long as I live." "Let us wait awhile then," said Cicero; "for Gellius requires no very long credit." There was one Octavius, to whom it had been objected, that 'he was an African.' One day when Cicero was pleading, this man said he could not hear him: "That is somewhat strange," observed Cicero; "for you are not without a hole in your ear"<sup>66</sup>.—When Metellus Nepos told him, "That he had ruined more as an evidence, than he had saved as an advocate:" "I grant it," said Cicero, "for I have more truth than eloquence." A young man, who lay under the imputation of having given his father a poisoned cake, talking in an insolent manner, and threatening Cicero with the weight of his reproaches, Cicero replied; "I had much rather have them, than your cake." Publius Sestius had taken Cicero, among others, for his advocate in a cause of some importance, and yet he would suffer no man to speak but himself. When it appeared, that he would be acquitted, and the judges were giving their verdict, Cicero called to him and said; "Sestius, make the best use of your time to-day, for

<sup>64</sup> For more of this facetiousness on the same subject, see Quint. vi. 8.\*

<sup>65</sup> This man had always been correct in his politics, and frequently bore the most honourable testimony to both Cicero and Cato. See Cic. in Pison. 3. A pleasant story is related of his *bonhomie* by Atticus, De Legg. i. 20.\*

<sup>66</sup> A mark of slavery among some nations, derived perhaps originally from the Jews. See Exod. xxi. 6., Deut. xv. 17.; but the Africans wore pendants in their ears, by way of ornament. (See Macrobius Saturn. vii. 3.) Petronius, likewise, and Dio mention this as an African custom. It appears however from Xenoph. Mem. iii., and Juv. i. 105., to have been practised likewise in Asia. As to the obscure extraction of the person in question, there are sneers, Ep. ad Fam. vii. 9. and 16.\*

"to-morrow you will be out of office<sup>67</sup>." Publius Cotta who affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity, being summoned as a witness in a certain cause, declared, "He knew nothing of the matter." "Perhaps," said Cicero, "you think I am asking you some question in law." Metellus Nepos, in some difference with Cicero, often asking him, "Who is your father?" he replied, "Your mother has made it much more difficult for you to answer that question:" for his mother had not the most unsullied reputation. This Metellus was himself a man of a light unbalanced mind. He suddenly quitted the tribunitial office, and sailed to Pompey in Syria<sup>68</sup>; and, when there, he returned in a manner still more absurd. Upon the death of his preceptor Philagrus, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a crow in marble on his monument<sup>69</sup>. "This," remarked Cicero, "was one of the wisest things you ever did; for your preceptor has taught you rather to fly than speak<sup>70</sup>." Marcus Appius having mentioned, in the introduction to one of his pleadings, that his friend had desired him to try every resource of care, eloquence, and fidelity in his cause, Cicero said; "What a hard-hearted man you are, not to do any one thing, that your friend has desired of you!"

It seems not foreign to the business of an orator, to use this cutting raillery against enemies or opponents; but his employing it indiscriminately, merely

<sup>67</sup> Probably Sestius, not being a professed advocate, would not be employed to speak for any body else; and therefore Cicero meant, that he should indulge his vanity in speaking for himself. (L.) This Sestius is the one for whom Cicero pleaded, and of whom he makes mention, Ep. ad Q. Fratr. ii. 3, 4., and ad Att. vii. 17.

<sup>68</sup> See the Life of Cato, V. 77.

<sup>69</sup> It was usual among the ancients to place emblematic figures upon the monuments of the dead; and these were either such instruments as represented the profession of the deceased, or such animals as resembled them in disposition.

<sup>70</sup> Alluding to the celerity of his expeditions.

with a view to raise a laugh, rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few instances: he used to call Marcus Aquilius, 'Adrastus,' because he had two sons-in-law who were both in exile<sup>71</sup>. Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, was censor when Cicero solicited the consulship. Cicero in the course of his canvas, happening to be thirsty, asked for some water, and said to his friends who stood round him as he drank; "You do well to conceal me, for you are afraid that the censor will call me to account for drinking water." Meeting Voconius one day with three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out,

On this conception Phœbus never smiled<sup>72</sup>.

Marcus Gellius, who was supposed to be of servile extraction, happening to read some letters in the senate with a loud and strong voice, "Do not be surprised at it," said Cicero, "for there have been public cryers in his family." Faustus<sup>73</sup> the son of Sylla the dictator, who had proscribed great numbers of Romans, having run deeply into debt and wasted a considerable part of his estate, was obliged to put up public bills for the sale of it. Upon which Cicero said, "I like these bills much better than his father's."

Many hated him for these keen sarcasms, which encouraged Clodius and his faction to form their schemes against him. The occasion was as follows: Clodius who was of a noble family, young and adventurous, entertained a passion for Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar. This induced him to get privately into Cæsar's house, which he did in the habit of a

<sup>71</sup> The Adrastus alluded to married his two daughters to Eteocles and Polynices, who were both banished.

<sup>72</sup> A verse of Sophocles, speaking of Laius the father of Œdipus.

<sup>73</sup> Sylla, who had named himself Felix, called his twins Faustus and Fausta. The young man, who had married Pompey's daughter, was at length taken in Africa, and by Cæsar's order put to death. See Dio, xli., and Hirtius de Bell. Afric. 95. To his debts an allusion is made by Cicero, Ep. ad Att. ix. 11.\*

female musician. The women were then offering there that mysterious sacrifice, which is kept from the sight and knowledge of men. But though no man is suffered to assist in it, Clodius, who was very young and had his face yet smooth, hoped to pass through the women to Pompeia undiscovered. Having entered a large house however in the night, he was puzzled to find his way; and one of the women belonging to Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, seeing him wandering up and down, asked him his name. Being now forced to speak, he said he was seeking Abra, one of Pompeia's maids. The woman, perceiving it was not a female voice, shrieked out, and called the matrons together. Upon which they immediately made fast the doors, and searching the whole house, found Clodius sculking in the apartment of the maid, by whom he had been introduced.

As this affair made a great noise, Cæsar divorced Pompeia, and prosecuted<sup>74</sup> Clodius for his impiety. Cicero was at that time his friend; for during the conspiracy of Catiline he had been ready to give him all the assistance in his power, and even attended as one of his guards. But as Clodius insisted in his defence, that he was not then at Rome, but at a considerable distance in the country; Cicero deposed that he came that very day to his house, and talked with him about some particular business. This was, indeed, matter of fact; yet probably it was not so much the influence of truth, as the necessity of satisfying his wife Terentia, which induced him to declare it. She hated Clodius, on account of his sister Clodia; who, she was persuaded, was anxious to get Cicero for her husband, and managed the design by one Tullus. As Tullus was an intimate friend of Cicero, and likewise made frequent visits to Clodia, who was his neighbour, this circumstance strengthen-

<sup>74</sup> He was prosecuted by a tribune, according to Plutarch's former and more accurate account, in the Life of Cæsar, IV. 368. That Clodius had been at least not the enemy of Cicero, appears from his *Orat. De Prov. Cons.* 9.\*

ed her suspicions. Besides, Terentia was a woman of an imperious temper, and having the ascendancy over her husband, instigated him to give evidence against Clodius. Many other persons of honour alleged against him the crimes of perjury, of fraud, of having bribed the people, and corrupted the women. Nay, Lucullus brought his maid-servants to prove that Clodius had a criminal commerce with his own sister, who was that nobleman's wife. This was the youngest of the sisters. And it was generally believed, that he had had connexions of the same kind with his other sisters; one of whom, named Tertia, was married to Martius Rex, and the other (Clodia) to Metellus Celer. The latter was nicknamed 'Quadrantaria,' because one of her lovers had palmed upon her a purse of small brass money, instead of silver; the smallest brass-coin being called a *Quadrans*<sup>75</sup>. It was upon this sister's account, that Clodius was most censured. As the people set themselves both against the witnesses and the prosecutors, the judges were so terrified, that they thought it necessary to place a guard about the court; and most of them confounded the letters upon the tablets<sup>76</sup>. He seemed, however, to be acquitted by the majority; but this was owing, it was reported, to pecuniary applications. Hence Catulus, when he met the judges, said, "You were right in desiring a guard for your defence; for you were afraid, that somebody would take the money from you." And when Clodius told Cicero, that the judges did not give credit to his disposition; "Yes," said he, "five and twenty of them believed me, for so many con-

<sup>75</sup> There was a smaller, called a *scutula*, as appears from Varro, de L. L. v. 36. But the *quadrans* was the price for bathing (Hor. Sat. I. in 137.), and to an intrigue of Clodia with a bathing-man Cicero alludes, Pro M. Cael. 26.\*

<sup>76</sup> See the parallel passage, in the Life of Cæsar, IV. 369., not. (16.) The bribery is distinctly affirmed by Cic. Ep. ad Att. i. 10., where Catulus' observation, and Cicero's retort upon Clodius, are both to be found.

“demned you: nor did the other thirty believe you, for they did not acquit you till they had received your money.” As to Cæsar, when he was called upon, he gave no testimony against Clodius; neither did he affirm, that he was certain of any injury done to his bed. He only said, “He had divorced Pompeia, because the wife of Cæsar ought not only to be clear from such a crime, but also from the very suspicion of it.”

After Clodius had escaped this danger, and was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumstance nor person untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws, which flattered their inclinations<sup>78</sup>, and the consuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces; for Piso was to have Macedon, and Gabinius, Syria. He enrolled many mean and indigent persons as citizens; and armed a number of slaves for his constant attendants. Of the great triumvirate, Crassus was an avowed enemy to Cicero, Pompey indifferently caressed both parties, and Cæsar was about to set off upon his expedition to Gaul. Though the latter was not his friend, but rather since Catiline’s affair suspected of enmity, it was to him that he now applied. The favour which he solicited was, that he would take him as his lieutenant; and Cæsar granted it<sup>79</sup>. Clodius, perceiving that Cicero would

<sup>77</sup> Hor. Sat. I. vi. 82.

———— *pudicum,*  
*Qui primus virtutes homines, servavit ab omni*  
*Non solum facto, sed cum opprobrio quoque, turpi.\**

<sup>78</sup> Of these, four are mentioned by Asconius, in his notes on Cic. Orat. in Pison. 6.; the first ordaining that corn, which had been previously sold at a low price, should be distributed gratis to the multitude; the second, that no observations of the heavens should take place on the days of public business; the third, that the old guilds should be re-established, and new ones instituted; and the last, that the censors should not strike any one out of his class without a formal accusation, and the full concurrence of the two colleagues.\*

<sup>79</sup> Cicero himself says, that this lieutenantcy was a voluntary offer of Cæsar’s (L.) (Ep. ad Att. ii. 18. 29., and de Prov. Cons. 17.)



thus get beyond the reach of his tribunitial power, pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation. He threw most of the blame of the late difference upon Terentia; and spoke always of Cicero in terms of candour, not like an adversary vindictively inclined, but as one friend might complain of another. This removed Cicero's fears so entirely<sup>80</sup>, that he gave up the lieutenancy to which Cæsar had appointed him and began to attend to business as before.

Cæsar was so much piqued at this proceeding, that he encouraged Clodius against him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his interest. He declared likewise before the people, that Cicero in his opinion had been guilty of a flagrant violation of all justice and law, in having without any form of trial put Lentulus and Cethegus to death<sup>81</sup>. This was the charge, which he was summoned to answer. Cicero then put on mourning, let his hair grow, and with every token of distress went round to supplicate the people. Clodius took care to meet him in every street with his audacious and insolent crew, who insulted him on his change of dress, and often disturbed his applications by pelting him with dirt and stones. Almost all the equestrian order, however, went into mourning with him; and no fewer than twenty thousand young men of the best families attended him with their hair dishevelled, and entreated the people in his behalf. Afterward the senate met, with an intent to decree that the people should change their habits, as in times of public mourning. But as the consuls opposed it, and Clodius beset the house with his armed band of ruffians, many of the senators

That both Cæsar and Pompey were perfidious in their present attentions to Cicero, appears from Dio xxxviii. 15.\*

<sup>80</sup> It is not clear, that Cicero was influenced by this conduct of Clodius: he had always expressed a great indifference upon the subject. (Ib.)

<sup>81</sup> See Vell. Pat. ii. 45. This assembly was held without the walls, in order that Cæsar, who had already left the city as proconsul, might be able to attend. See Dio, ib.\*

ran out, rending their garments and exclaiming against the outrage.

But this spectacle excited neither compassion, nor shame; and it appeared that Cicero must either go into exile, or decide the dispute by the sword. In this extremity, he applied to Pompey for assistance; but he had purposely absented himself, and remained at his Alban villa. Cicero first sent his son-in-law Piso to him, and subsequently went himself. When Pompey was informed of his arrival, he could not bear to look him in the face. He was confounded at the thought of an interview with his injured friend, who had fought such great battles for him, and rendered him so many services in the course of his administration. But being now son-in-law to Cæsar, he sacrificed his former obligations to that connexion, and went out at a back-door in order to avoid his presence<sup>82</sup>.

Cicero, thus betrayed and deserted, had recourse to the consuls. Gabinius always treated him rudely; but Piso behaved with some civility. He advised him to withdraw from the torrent of Clodius' rage, to bear this change of the times with patience, and to be once more the saviour of his country, which for his sake was involved in all this trouble and commotion.

After this answer, Cicero consulted with his friends. Lucullus advised him to stay, and assured him he would be victorious. Others<sup>83</sup> were of opinion, that<sup>84</sup> it was best to fly, because the people would soon long for his return, when they were weary of Clodius' madness and extravagance. The last advice he adopted; and taking a statue of Minerva, which he had long kept in his house with great devotion, car-

<sup>82</sup> In this Dio seems to agree with Plutarch, and Cic. in Pison. 31. conveys the same idea; but from Ep. ad Att. v. 1. it appears that Cicero had an interview with Pompey, before he went into exile.\*

<sup>83</sup> Cato and Hortensius. See Dio. ib., and Ep. ad Att. li. 15., ad Q. Fratr. i. 3.\*

ried it to the Capitol, and dedicated it there with this inscription,

“ To Minerva, the protectress of Rome ”

About midnight, he privately quitted the city; and, with some friends who attended to escort him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending thence to pass over into Sicily.

It was no sooner known that he was fled, than Clodius procured a decree of banishment against him, prohibiting him fire and water, and admission into any house within five hundred<sup>84</sup> miles of Italy. But such was the veneration, which the people had for Cicero, that in general there was no regard paid to the decree. They showed him every kind of civility, and conducted him on his way with the most cordial attention. Only at Hipponium, a city of Lucania (now called Vibo) one Vibius a native of Sicily, who had particular obligations to him, and among other things had held an appointment under him when consul as surveyor of the works, now refused to admit him into his house; but at the same time acquainted him, that he would appoint a place in the country for his reception. And Caius Virginius, the prætor of Sicily, though indebted to Cicero for signal services, wrote to forbid him entrance into that island.

Discouraged by these instances of ingratitude, he repaired to Brundisium, where he embarked for Dyrrhachium. At first he had a favourable gale, but the next day the wind turned about, and drove him back to port. He set sail again, however, as soon as the wind was fair. It is reported, that when he was about to land at Dyrrhachium, there happened to be an earthquake, and the sea retired to a considerable distance from the shore. Hence the soothsayers inferred, that his exile would be of no long continuance, as these were tokens of a sudden change. Numbers of people came to pay their respects to him,

<sup>84</sup> Four hundred. See Ep. ad Att. iii. 4.\*

and the cities of Greece strove which should show him the highest civilities ; yet he continued dejected and disconsolate. Like a passionate lover, he often cast a longing look toward Italy, and behaved with a littleness of spirit not to have been anticipated in <sup>a</sup>one, who had enjoyed such opportunities of cultivation from letters and philosophy. Nay, he had often desired his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher ; because he had made philosophy his business, and rhetoric only the instrument of his political operations. But opinion <sup>b</sup> has great power to dilute the tincture of philosophy, and infuse the passions of the vulgar into the minds of statesmen, who have a necessary connexion and commerce with the multitude ; unless they take care so to engage in every thing extrinsic as to attend exclusively to the business, without imbibing the passions that are the ordinary consequence of that business.

After Clodius had banished Cicero, he burned his villas and his house in Rome, and on the place where the latter had stood erected a temple to Liberty. His goods he put up to auction, and the crier gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared. By these means, he became formidable to the patricians ; and having drawn the people with him into the most audacious insolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and called in question some of his acts and ordinances in the wars. This exposing Pompey to censure, he deeply blamed himself for having abandoned Cicero ; and, entirely altering his plan, adopted every method for effecting his return. As Clodius constantly opposed them, the senate decreed that no public business of any kind should be despatched by their body, till Cicero was recalled.

In the consulship of Lentulus <sup>c</sup>, the sedition in-

<sup>a</sup> Δόξα signifies not only ‘opinion,’ but ‘fame,’ and (by an easy figure) ‘a passion for fame.’ The reader will choose which sense he thinks best.

<sup>b</sup> This was in the fiftieth year of Cicero’s age, B. C. 57. With respect to his brother’s danger, mentioned below, Plutarch appears

creased: some of the tribunes were wounded in the Forum; and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the slain. The people began now to change their opinion; and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to summon Clodius to answer for his violation of the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of the neighbouring cities, joined Pompey; with whose assistance he drove Clodius out of the Forum, and then assembled the citizens to vote. Nothing, it is said, was ever carried among the commons with so much unanimity; and the senate, vying with them in their proofs of attachment to Cicero, decreed their thanks to the cities, which had treated him with kindness and respect during his exile; and that his town and country-houses, which Clodius had demolished, should be rebuilt at the public charge<sup>87</sup>.

Sixteen months after his banishment, Cicero returned; and such joy was expressed by the cities, and so much eagerness to meet him was displayed by all ranks of people, that his own account of it falls short of the truth, though he remarked<sup>88</sup>, “Italy had brought him upon her shoulders to Rome.” Crassus, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily went to meet him, and was reconciled. In this, he said he was desirous to oblige his son Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

Not long after his return, Cicero taking his opportunity when Clodius was absent<sup>89</sup>, went up with a large party to the Capitol, and destroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts

to have confounded Quintus Cicero with Sextius the tribune. See *Cic. pro Sext.* 35—37.\*

<sup>87</sup> The consuls decreed for rebuilding his house in Rome nearly 11,000*l.*, for his Tusculan villa nearly 3000*l.*, and for his Formian villa about half that sum, which Cicero called ‘a very scanty estimate.’ *Ep. ad Att.* iv. 2.

<sup>88</sup> *Orat. post Red. ad Sen.* 15.\*

<sup>89</sup> Cicero had attempted this once before, when Clodius was present; but Caius, Clodius’ brother, being prætor, he failed in his undertaking.

of Clodius' time. Clodius loudly complained of this proceeding; but Cicero answered, "That his appointment as tribune was irregular, because he was of a patrician family"<sup>90</sup>, and consequently all his "acts null and void." At this Cato was displeased, and opposed Cicero in the assertion. Not that he commended Clodius; on the contrary, he was extremely offended at his administration: but he represented, "That it would be a violent stretch of prerogative in the senate, to annul so many decrees and acts, among which were his own commission and regulations at Cyprus and Byzantium"<sup>91</sup>." The difference however, which this produced between Cato and Cicero, did not proceed to an absolute rupture; it only lessened the warmth of their friendship.

After this, Milo killed Clodius; and, being arraigned for the fact, he chose Cicero for his advocate. The senate, fearing that the prosecution of a man of Milo's spirit and reputation might produce some tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to preside at this and the other trials, and to provide for the peace both of the city and of the courts of justice. In consequence of which, he posted a body of soldiers in the Forum before day, and secured every part of it. This rendered Milo apprehensive, that Cicero would be disconcerted at so unusual a sight, and less able to plead. He therefore persuaded him to come in a litter to the Forum, and to repose himself there till the judges were assembled and the court filled. For he was not only timid in war, but he had also his alarms when he spoke in public, and in many causes scarcely ceased to tremble even in the very height and vehemence of his eloquence"<sup>92</sup>. When

<sup>90</sup> To obviate this objection, he had caused himself to be adopted into a plebeian family.\*

<sup>91</sup> See the Life of Cato, V. 88., and Vell. Pat. ii. 2.

<sup>92</sup> This he himself confesses in his Orat. pro Cluent. 18., and Divin. in Q. Cæcil. 13. And thus, M. Ricard informs us, was the case with the great Bossuet.\*

he undertook to assist in the defence of Licinius Murena<sup>93</sup> against the prosecution of Cato, he was ambitious to outdo Hortensius, who had already spoken with much applause; for which reason, he sat up all night to prepare himself. But the watching and application hurt him so much, that he appeared inferior to his rival<sup>94</sup>.

When he came out of the litter to open Milo's cause, and saw Pompey seated on high as in a camp, and weapons glistening all round the Forum, he was so confounded that he could scarcely open his oration. For he shook, and his tongue faltered, though Milo attended the trial with great courage, and had disdained to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning. These circumstances contributed not a little to his condemnation<sup>95</sup>. As for Cicero, his trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend, than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed<sup>96</sup> one of the priests called Augurs, in the place of young Crassus, who had been killed in the Parthian war. The province of Cilicia was, subsequently, allotted to him; and he sailed thither with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse. He had it in charge to compel Cappadocia to submit to king Ariobarzanes; which he performed to the satisfaction of all parties, without having recourse to arms. And finding the Cilicians elated on the miscarriage of the Romans in Parthia, and the commotions in Syria, he brought them to order by the gentleness of his government. The presents, which the neighbouring princes offered him, he declined. He excused the province from finding him a public table, and daily

<sup>93</sup> Murena had retained three advocates, Hortensius, Marcus Crassus, and Cicero.

<sup>94</sup> 'To himself,' as Xylander suggests, by a correction (*autu*) to which Barton gives his approbation.\*

<sup>95</sup> Of the effects of this invidious fortitude Cicero was justly afraid. See *Pro Milon.* 34.\*

<sup>96</sup> In the fifty-fourth year of his age.\*

entertained at his own charge persons of honour and learning, not with magnificence indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, neither did any man ever find him in bed; for he rose early in the morning, and kindly received those who came to pay their court to him, either standing or walking before his door<sup>97</sup>. We are told, that he never caused any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent<sup>98</sup>, never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added insult to punishment. He recovered the public money, which had been embezzled, and enriched the cities with it. At the same time, he was satisfied if those who had been guilty of such frauds made restitution, and fixed no mark of infamy upon them.

He had, also, a taste of war: for he routed the bands of robbers that had possessed themselves of Mount Amanus, and was thence saluted by his army ‘Imperator<sup>99</sup>.’ Cæcilius<sup>100</sup> the orator, having desired him to send him some panthers from Cilicia for his games at Rome, in his reply he could not forbear boasting of his achievements. “There were no  
“panthers (he said) left in Cilicia; those animals, in  
“their vexation to find that they were the only ob-

<sup>97</sup> See Ep. ad Att. vi. 2., where also mention is made of his mild treatment of such, as made restitution.\*

<sup>98</sup> This mark of ignominy was of the highest antiquity. ‘Wherefore Hanun took David’s servants, and shaved off one half of their beards; and cut off their garments to the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them away.’ (2 Sam. x. 4.)

<sup>99</sup> He not only received this mark of distinction, but public thanksgivings, upon the motion of Cato, were ordered at Rome for his success; and the people had nearly decreed him a triumph. His military services, therefore, must have been considerable, and Plutarch seems to mention them too slightly. See Ep. ad Att. v. 21., ad Fam. xv. 4. Mount Amanus, Strabo informs us, was a part of Mount Taurus, and extended to the Euphrates.

<sup>100</sup> Not Cæcilius, but Cælius. He was then ædile, and wanted the panthers for his public shows. See Ep. ad Fam. ii. 11.; which however, as M. Ricard judiciously remarks after Gronovius, appears a piece of simple and elegant *badinage*.



“jects of war, while every thing else was at peace, “having fled into Caria.”

On his return from his province he stopped at Rhodes, and afterward made some stay at Athens; this he did with great pleasure, in remembrance of the conversations, which he had formerly enjoyed at that place. He had now the company of all, who were most famed for erudition, and visited his former friends and acquaintance. After receiving due honours and marks of esteem from Grece, he passed forward to Rome, where he found the fire of dissension kindled, and every thing tending to a civil war<sup>101</sup>.

When the senate were for decreeing him a triumph, he said, “He had rather follow Cæsar’s chariot-wheels in his triumph, if a reconciliation could “be effected between him and Pompey.” And in private he tried every healing and conciliatory method, by writing to Cæsar, and entreating Pompey. After it came to an open rupture, and Cæsar was on his march to Rome, Pompey did not choose to wait for him, but retired with numbers of the principal citizens in his train. Cicero did not attend him in his flight; and therefore it was believed, that he would join Cæsar<sup>102</sup>. It is certain, that he fluctuated considerably in his opinion, and was in the utmost anxiety: “For,” says he in his Epistles, “Whither “shall I turn? Pompey has the more honourable “cause; but Cæsar manages his affairs with the “greatest address, and is most able to save himself “and his friends. In short, I know whom to avoid,

<sup>101</sup> Ep. ad Fam. xvi. 11.

<sup>102</sup> From several of Cicero’s letters to Atticus, in the ninth book (10. 16. 18.), this appears to be incorrect; as he certainly left the city soon after his return, and notwithstanding Cæsar’s entreaties would not come back again. His inclination was certainly in favour of Pompey (Ep. ad Att. vii. 1.), though he saw and lamented that general’s mistakes; and all that Cæsar appears to have hoped for, was his neutrality. The latter part of the subjoined extract is from viii. 7.\*

“but not whom to seek.” At last one Trebatius, a friend of Cæsar, signified to him by letter, that Cæsar thought he had reason to regard him as of his side, and a partner of his hopes. But if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live there in tranquillity unconnected with either party. Cicero was surprised that Cæsar did not write himself<sup>103</sup>, and angrily replied, “That he would do nothing unworthy of his political character.” Such is the account, which we have of the matter in his Epistles.

Upon Cæsar’s marching for Spain, however, he recrossed the sea, and repaired to Pompey. His arrival was agreeable to the generality; but Cato blamed him in private for having taken this measure. “As for me,” said he, “it would have been wrong to leave that party, which I had embraced from the beginning; but you might have been much more serviceable to your country and your friends, if you had stayed at Rome, and accommodated yourself to events: whereas now, without any reason or necessity, you have declared yourself an enemy to Cæsar, and are come to share in frightful dangers.”

These arguments made Cicero change his opinion: especially, when he found that Pompey did not employ him upon any considerable service. It is true, no one was to be blamed for this but himself; for he made no secret of his repenting<sup>104</sup>. He disparaged Pompey’s preparations, he insinuated his dislike of his councils, and never spared his jests upon his allies. He was not, indeed, disposed to laugh himself; on the contrary, he walked about the camp with a very solemn countenance; but he often made

<sup>103</sup> There is, however, a letter of his (ad. Fam. x. 8.) to Cicero on this very subject.\*

<sup>104</sup> Ep. ad. Fam. vii. 3. Of his sadness in camp he gives an account, Philipp. ii. 15, 16. See also Macrob. Sat. ii. 3. Plutarch elsewhere records a bitter sarcasm of his upon one, who had come over from Cæsar to Pompey, and said he had left his horse behind in his hurry: “His horse is very much obliged to him.”\*

others laugh, though they were little inclined to it. It may not be amiss, perhaps, to give a few instances. When Domitius advanced a man, who had no turn for war, to the rank of captain, and assigned as his reason that he was an honest and a prudent man; "Why then," said Cicero, "don't you keep him for governor to your children?" When some were commending Theophanes the Lesbian, who was director of the board of works, for having consoled the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet; "See," said Cicero, "what it is to have a Grecian<sup>105</sup> director!" When Cæsar was successful in almost every instance, and held Pompey as it were besieged, Lentulus said, "He was informed that Cæsar's friends looked very sour." "You mean, I suppose," observed Cicero, "that they are out of humour with him." One Martius newly arrived from Italy told them, a report prevailed at Rome that Pompey was blocked up in his camp: "You took a voyage then," said Cicero, "on purpose to see it with your own eyes." After Pompey's defeat, Nonnius said, "There was still room for hope, for there were seven eagles left in the camp." Cicero answered, "That would be good encouragement, if we were to fight with jack-daws." When Labienus, on the strength of some oracles<sup>106</sup>, insisted that Pompey must be conqueror at last: "By this oracular generalship," replied Cicero, "we have lost our camp."

After the battle of Pharsalia (in which he was not present, on account of his ill health) and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had considerable forces and a great fleet at Dyrrhachium, desired Cicero to

<sup>105</sup> Whose rhetoric can 'console,' even after his folly has ruined, his followers! Theophanes of Mitylene had written the History of Pompey's wars, and was in great credit with him. (Cæsar Bell. Civ. iii. 18., Ep. ad. Att. ii. 17. v. 11.) See, also, Cic. pro. Arch. 10. Cicero, however, seems not to have rated him very highly, Ep. ad. Att. ix. 1. He it was, who persuaded Pompey, after the battle of Pharsalia, to take refuge in Egypt. See IV. 224.\*

<sup>106</sup> This, it appears from Lucan ix. 549., was Labienus' particular superstition.\*

assume the command, because his consular dignity gave him a legal title to it. Cicero however not only declined it, but absolutely refused taking any farther share in the war. Upon which young Pompey and his friends called him 'traitor,' drew their swords, and would certainly have despatched him, had not Cato interposed, and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got safe to Brundisium, and waited there some time in expectation of Cæsar, who was detained by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. When he heard that the conqueror was arrived at Tarentum, and designed to proceed thence by land to Brundisium, he set out to meet him; not without hope, nor yet without some shame and reluctance, at the thought of trying in the presence of so many witnesses how he stood in the opinion of a victorious enemy. He had no occasion, however, either to do or to say any thing beneath his dignity. Cæsar no sooner beheld him at some considerable distance advancing before the rest, than he dismounted and ran to embrace him; after which, he went on discoursing with him alone for many furlongs. He continued, indeed, to treat him with the utmost kindness and respect; insomuch that when he had written an encomium on Cato, which bore the name of that illustrious man, Cæsar, in his answer (entitled 'Anti-Cato'), praised both the eloquence<sup>107</sup> and the conduct of Cicero, and said he greatly resembled Pericles and Theramenes.

<sup>107</sup> See Plin. H. N. vii. 30., and Cic. Brut. 72. Of Theramenes we have some account in Cic. de Orat. iii. 16., and also in the Life of Nicias, III. 205. From the moderation of his politics, he was considered as a trimmer. Upon the taking of Athens by Lysander, he resisted the establishment of an oligarchy; and as one of the Thirty Tyrants, he withstood the proscriptions and murders authorised by his colleagues, for which he was impeached by Critias, one of that bloody directory, and died with true Socratic fortitude. See more of him in the Life of Lysander, III. 399., Diod. Sic. xiv., and Xenoph. Hellen. ii.

Upon Cato many controversial works appeared. Brutus composed one under his name, to which Augustus wrote a reply. (Suet. Aug. 85.) He was panegyrised likewise by Fabius Gallus, a friend of Cicero's (Ep. ad Fam. vii. 24.), Munatius, and Thræsea. See the Life of Cæsar, IV. 420.\*

When Quintus Ligarius was prosecuted for having borne arms against Cæsar, and Cicero had undertaken to plead his cause, Cæsar is reported to have said; "Why may we not give ourselves a pleasure, which we have now not enjoyed for so long a time, that of hearing Cicero speak: since I have already taken my resolution as to Ligarius, who is clearly a bad man, as well as my enemy?" But he was much moved, when Cicero began; and his speech, as it proceeded, had such a variety of pathos, so irresistible a charm, that his colour often changed, and his mind was evidently torn by conflicting passions. At last, when the orator touched upon the battle of Pharsalia<sup>108</sup>, he was so extremely affected, that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop some papers out of his hand. Thus subdued by the force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the scene of public business, and bestowed his leisure upon the young men<sup>109</sup>, who were desirous of being instructed in philosophy. As these were of the best families, by his interest with them he once more obtained great authority in Rome. He made it his business to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to express the Greek terms of logic and natural philosophy in the Roman language. For it is said that he first, or at least principally, gave Latin terms for these Greek words, *phantasia* [imagination], *synkathesis* [assent], *epoche* [doubt], *catalepsis* [comprehension], *atomos* [atom], *ameres* [indivisible], *kenon* [void], and many other such terms in science; contriving either by metaphorical expression, or strict version, to render them intelligible and familiar to the Romans. His ready turn for poetry afforded him

<sup>108</sup> Pro Ligar. 3. The whole oration is most honourable to the genius of the speaker, and its success is perhaps the noblest triumph of eloquence over prejudice and party-spirit on record.\*

<sup>109</sup> These were chiefly Pansa, Hirtius, and Dolabella. See Quint. viii. 3. xii. 11., Cic. Ep. ad Fam. ix. 16., Suet. de Cl. Rhet. 1., and Senec. Controv. 1.\*

amusement; for we are told, when he was intent upon it, he could compose five hundred verses in a single night. As in this period he spent most of his time at his Tusculan villa, he wrote to his friends, "That he led the life of Laërtes"<sup>100</sup>; either by way of raillery, as his custom was, or from an ambitious desire of public employment and discontent in his present situation. Be that as it may, he rarely went to Rome, and then only to pay his court to Cæsar. He was always one of the first to vote him additional honours, and forward to say something new of him and his actions. Thus when Cæsar ordered Pompey's statues, which had been pulled down, to be re-erected, Cicero said; "That, by this act of humanity in setting up Pompey's statues, he had established his own."

It is reported, that he had formed a design to write the history of his own country, in which he would have interwoven many of the Grecian affairs, and inserted not only their speeches, but their fabulous legends<sup>101</sup>. But he was prevented by many disagreeable circumstances, both public and private, into most of which he brought himself by his own indiscretion. For, in the first place, he divorced his wife Terentia. The reasons which he assigned were, that she had neglected him during the war, and even sent him out without necessaries. Besides, after his return to Italy, she behaved to him with little regard, and did not wait upon him during his long stay at Brundisium. Nay, when his daughter, at that time very young, took so long a journey to see him, she allowed her only an indifferent equipage and very insufficient supplies. According to his own account indeed, his house was become naked and empty, in consequence of the many debts, which she had contracted. These were the most specious pretences for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied all these

<sup>100</sup> See Hom. Od. xxiv. 205. 225.\*

<sup>101</sup> De Legg. i. 2.\*

charges; and Cicero himself made a full apology for her, by marrying a younger woman <sup>112</sup> not long afterward. Terentia said, he took her merely for her beauty; but his freedman Tyro affirms that he married her for her wealth, that it might enable him to pay off his encumbrances. She was indeed very rich, and her fortune was in the hands of Cicero, who had been left her guardian. As his debts were great, his friends and relations persuaded him to marry the young lady, notwithstanding the disparity of their years, and to satisfy his creditors out of her fortune.

Antony, in his answer to the Philippics, censures him for having divorced a wife, with whom he was grown old; and rallies him on account of his perpetually keeping at home, like a man unfit either for business or for war. Not long after this match, his daughter Tullia, who on the death of Piso had married Lentulus <sup>113</sup>, died in child-bed. The philosophers came from all parts to comfort him, for his loss affected him extremely; and he even put away his new bride, because she seemed to rejoice at Tullia's death. In this posture stood Cicero's domestic affairs.

As to those of the public, he had no share in the conspiracy against Cæsar, though he was one of Brutus' particular friends; and no man was more uneasy under the new establishment, or more desirous of having the commonwealth restored. Possibly they feared his natural deficiency of courage, as well as his time of life <sup>114</sup>, at which the boldest begin to droop. After the deed was achieved by Brutus and Cassius, the friends of Cæsar assembled to revenge

<sup>112</sup> Publilia. Upon the censures, to which the disparity of their years gave birth (for Cicero was now above sixty), Quintilian has preserved one of the orator's own jokes, vi. 3. See Ep. ad Fam. iv. 14.\*

<sup>113</sup> P. Corn. Lentulus Dolabella, her third husband. Plutarch has forgotten to mention her second, Furius Crassipes, Ep. ad Q. Fratr. ii. 4, 5, 6. And from Lentulus she had been divorced, some time before her death.\*

<sup>114</sup> He was now sixty-three years of age.\*

his death; and it was apprehended, that Rome would again be plunged into civil wars. Antony, who was consul, convened a meeting of the senate, and made a short speech on the necessity of union. But Cicero expatiated in a manner suitable to the occasion; and persuaded the senate, in imitation of the Athenians, to pass a general amnesty<sup>115</sup> as to all that had been done against Cæsar, and to decree provinces to Brutus and Cassius.

None of these things, however, took effect, for the people were inclined to pity on this event; and when they beheld the dead body of Cæsar carried into the Forum, where Antony showed them his robe stained with blood<sup>116</sup>, and pierced on all sides with their swords, they broke out into a transport of rage. They sought all over the Forum for the principal actors in the tragedy, and ran with lighted torches to burn their houses. This danger, by their precaution, they escaped; but, as they saw others not less considerable impending, they left the city.

Antony, elated with this advantage, became formidable to all the opposite party, who supposed that he would aim at nothing less than absolute power; but Cicero had particular reason to deprecate his ascendancy. For being sensible that Cicero's weight in the administration was re-established, and that he was strongly attached to Brutus, Antony could hardly endure his presence. Besides, there had long been some jealousy and dislike between them, on account of the dissimilarity of their lives. Cicero, fearing the event, was solicitous to go with Dolabella into Syria, as his lieutenant. But afterward Hirtius and Pansa, who were to succeed Antony in the consulship, persons of great merit and warm admirers of Cicero, implored him not to leave them; and en-

<sup>115</sup> As Thrasybulus had done at Athens, upon the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants. See Xenoph. Hellen. xi. near the end, \* Corn. Nepos. Vit. Thrasyb., and Val. Max. iv. 1.\*

<sup>116</sup> Upon the effect of this exhibition Quintilian has a remark, vi. 1.\*



gaged, with his assistance, to destroy Antony. Cicero, without depending much upon their scheme, gave up that of going with Dolabella, and agreed with the consuls elect to pass the summer in Athens, and return when they entered on their office.

Accordingly, he embarked for that place, without taking any principal Roman along with him. But his voyage being accidentally retarded, news arrived from Rome (for he did not choose to be without news) that there was a wonderful change in Antony; that he took all his steps agreeably to the sense of the senate; and that nothing but the personal attendance of himself was wanting, to bring matters to the best establishment. Condemning therefore his own excessive caution, he returned to Rome.

His first hopes were not disappointed. Such crowds came out to meet him, that almost a whole day was spent at the gates, and on his way home, in compliments and congratulations. Next day Antony convened the senate, and sent for Cicero; but he kept his bed, pretending that he was indisposed by his journey. In reality, he seems to have been afraid of assassination, in consequence of some hints which he had received by the way. Antony was extremely incensed at these suggestions, and ordered a party of soldiers either to bring him, or to burn his house in case of refusal. At the request however of numbers who interposed, he revoked his order, and bid them only bring a pledge<sup>117</sup> from his house.

After this, when they happened to meet, they passed each other in silence, and lived in mutual distrust. In the mean time young Cæsar, arriving from Apollonia, put in his claim as heir to his uncle, and sued Antony for twenty-five million drachmas<sup>118</sup>, which he had detained of the estate.

<sup>117</sup> Upon this custom see a preceding note, in the Life of Cato, V. 86., not. (33.) The above threat is given in more moderate terms, even by Cicero himself, who was never disposed to moderate either his sufferings or services, *Philipp. i. 5.\**

<sup>118</sup> See also the Life of Antony. Plutarch is mistaken in the sum.

Upon this, Philip who had married the mother, and Marcellus who was husband to the sister of Octavius, brought him to Cicero. It was agreed between them, that Cicero should support Cæsar with his eloquence and interest, both in the senate and among the people; and that Cæsar in return should give Cicero all the protection, which his wealth and military influence could afford. For the young man had already collected a considerable number of veterans, who had served under his uncle.

Cicero received the offer of his friendship with pleasure. For, while Pompey and Cicero were living, Cicero (it seems) had a dream<sup>119</sup>, in which he thought he called some boys, the sons of senators, up to the Capitol, because Jupiter designed to make one of them sovereign of Rome. The citizens ran with all the eagerness of expectation, and placed themselves about the temple; and the boys in their prætextas sat silent. The doors suddenly opening, the boys rose up one by one, and in their order passed round the god, who reviewed them all, and sent them away disappointed: but when Octavius approached, he stretched out his hand to him, and said; "Romans, this is the person who, when he comes to be your prince, will put an end to your civil wars." This vision, they tell us, made such an impression upon Cicero, that he perfectly retained the figure and countenance of the boy, though he did not then know him. Next day, he went down to the Campus Martius, when the boys were just returning from their exercises; and the first, who struck his eye, was the lad in the very form that he

It appears from Vell. Patere. ii. 60., and others (among the rest Cicero himself, Phil. ii. 37.), that it was seven times as much. Barton however, and after him M. Ricard, contends that Plutarch may be reconciled with the rest, by interpreting the larger sum of the money which Cæsar had amassed for public uses, and the smaller of his own private property.\*

<sup>119</sup> Of this dream we find no testimony remaining, in any of Cicero's works now extant; but a very similar one of Q. Catulus is preserved by Suet. Aug. 94.\*

had seen in his dream. Astonished at the discovery, Cicero inquired who were his parents ; and he proved to be the son of Octavius, a person not much distinguished in life <sup>120</sup>, and of Attia, Cæsar's sister. As he was so near a relation, and Cæsar had no children of his own, he adopted him, and bequeathed him his estate. Cicero after his dream, whenever he met young Octavius, is said to have treated him with particular regard ; and he received those marks of his friendship with great satisfaction. Besides, he happened to have been born in the year in which Cicero was Consul.

These were the ostensible causes of their present connexion. But the leading motive with Cicero was, his hatred to Antony ; and the next his natural avidity of glory. For he hoped to throw the weight of Octavius into the scale of the commonwealth ; and the latter behaved to him with such a puerile deference, that he even called him ' Father.' Hence Brutus, in his letters to Atticus, expressed his indignation against Cicero, and said ; " That as through fear of Antony he paid his court to young Cæsar, it was plain he took his measures not for the liberty of his country, but only to obtain a gentle master for himself." Nevertheless, Brutus finding Cicero's son at Athens, where he was studying under the philosophers, gave him a command, and employed him upon many services which proved successful.

Cicero's power, at this time, was at it's greatest height. He carried every point that he desired, in so much that he expelled Antony, and raised such a spirit against him, that the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were sent to give him battle ; and Cicero likewise

<sup>120</sup> Here Plutarch seems to have trusted too implicitly to some of Augustus' enemies ; as it appears from Suetonius, that his father had filled some high offices of state, and if he had lived, Cicero (Philipp. iii. 6.) informs us he would have been consul. From the following Lives of Brutus, and of Antony, it is clear that Attia was niece (sister's daughter) to Cæsar. Octavius was born B. C.

prevailed upon the senate to grant Cæsar the fasces with the dignity of prætor, as one that was fighting for his country.

Antony, indeed, was beaten; but, both the consuls falling in the action, the troops ranged themselves under the banners of Cæsar. The senate now fearing the views of a young man, who was so much favoured by fortune, endeavoured by honours and gifts to seduce his forces from him, and to diminish his power<sup>121</sup>. They alleged that, as Antony was put to flight, there was no need to keep such an army on foot. Cæsar, alarmed at these vigorous measures, privately sent some friends to entreat and persuade Cicero to procure the consulship for them both; promising at the same time, that he should direct all affairs according to his own better judgement, and find him perfectly tractable, as a young man who had no ambition for any thing but the title and the honour. Cæsar himself acknowledged afterward that, in his apprehensions of being entirely ruined and deserted, he seasonably availed himself of Cicero's ambition, persuaded him to stand for the consulship, and undertook to support his application with his whole interest.

In this case particularly Cicero, old as he was, suffered himself to be duped by this young man, solicited the people for him, and brought the senate into his interest. His friends blamed him for it at the time; and it was not long before he was sensible that he had ruined himself, and given up the liberties of his country<sup>122</sup>. For Cæsar was no sooner strengthened with the consular authority, than he gave up Cicero<sup>123</sup>; and reconciling himself to Antony and

<sup>121</sup> See Dio, xlvi. 40., and App. Bell. Civ. iii.\*

<sup>122</sup> All this, though supported by the concurrence of Dio and Appian, is justly rejected by Middleton, as not mentioned by Paterculus or Suetonius, and completely contradicted by Cicero himself, Ep. ad Brut. 10. 15.\*

<sup>123</sup> Instead of taking him for his colleague, he chose Quintus Pedius.

Lepidus, united his power with theirs, and combined in a partition of the empire, as if it had been a private estate. At the same time, they proscribed above two hundred persons, whom they had selected for sacrifices. The chief difficulty and dispute was about the proscription of Cicero. For Antony would come to no terms, till he was first taken off. Lepidus agreed with Antony in this preliminary; but Cæsar opposed them both. They held a private congress for these purposes, near the city of Bononia, which lasted three days. The place where they met was over-against their camps, on a little island in the river. Throughout two of these days, Cæsar is said to have contended strenuously for Cicero, but on the third he gave him up. The sacrifices on each part were these: Cæsar was to abandon Cicero to his fate; Lepidus, his brother Paulus<sup>124</sup>; and Antony, Lucius Cæsar, his uncle by the mother's side. Thus rage and rancour entirely stifled in them all sentiments of humanity; or, more properly speaking, they showed that no beast is more savage than man, when he is possessed of power equal to his passions.

While his enemies were thus employed, Cicero with his brother Quintus was at his Tusculan villa. On receiving information of the proscription, they determined to remove to Astyra<sup>125</sup>, a country-house of Cicero's near the sea; where they intended to take ship, and repair to Brutus in Macedon. For it was reported, that he was already very powerful in those parts. They were carried in their separate litters, oppressed with sorrow and despair; and often joining their litters on the road, they stopped to be-

<sup>124</sup> With regard to Paulus, see Suct. Jul. 29., and Cic. Ep. ad Fam. xi. 19. On the subject of L. Jul. Cæsar, who as well as Paulus was a consular man, see Phil. ii. 6. viii. 1., Ep. ad Fam. x. 28., &c. Neither of them, however, fell by this proscription.\*

<sup>125</sup> A small island, at the mouth of a river of the same name, between Actium and Circæum, whither he had before retired upon the death of his daughter. (Ep. ad. Art. xii. 40.)\*

moan their mutual misfortunes. Quintus was the more dejected, because he was in want of necessities; for, as he said, he had brought nothing from home with him. Cicero, likewise, had but a slender provision. They concluded, therefore, that it would be best for Cicero to hasten his flight, and for Quintus to return to his house, and procure some supplies. This resolution being fixed upon, they embraced each other with every expression of sorrow, and then parted.

A few days afterward, Quintus and his son were betrayed by his servants to the assassins who came in quest of them, and lost their lives. As for Cicero, he was carried to Astyra; where finding a vessel, he immediately went on board, and coasted along to Circæum with a favourable wind. The pilots were preparing immediately to set sail again; but whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet given up all his hopes in Cæsar, he disembarked and travelled a hundred furlongs on foot, as if Rome had been the place of his destination. Repenting however afterward, he quitted that road, and again repaired to the sea. The ensuing night he passed in the most perplexing and horrid thoughts; insomuch, that he was sometimes inclined to go privately into Cæsar's house, and stab himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, in order to bring down the divine vengeance upon his betrayer. But from this he was deterred by the fear of torture. Other alternatives, equally distressful, presented themselves. At last, he put himself into the hands of his servants, and ordered them to carry him by sea to Caieta<sup>126</sup>, where he had a delightful retreat in the summer, when the Etesian<sup>127</sup> winds set in. On that coast stood a temple of Apollo, from which a flight of crows came with great noise toward Cicero's vessel, as it was

<sup>126</sup> In the printed text it is *καπιτας*, but one MS. gives us *καίαιτα*. According to Appian, Cicero was killed near Capua; but Valerius Maximus says, the scene of that tragedy was at Caieta. (i. 4. 5.)

<sup>127</sup> The north-east winds.

making land; and perched on both sides of the sail-yard, where some sat croaking, and others pecking the ends of the ropes. This every body considered as an ill omen; yet Cicero went on shore, and entering his house, lay down to repose himself. In the mean time, a number of the crows settled in the chamber-window, and croaked in the most doleful manner. One of them even entered it, and alighting on the bed attempted, with it's beak, to draw off the clothes with which he had covered his face. On seeing this, the servants began to reproach themselves. "Shall we remain," said they, "to be spectators of our master's murder? Shall we not protect him, innocent and heavily afflicted as he is, when even the brute creatures give him marks of their care and attention?" Upon which, partly by entreaty and partly by force, they got him into his litter, and carried him toward the sea.

In the mean time the assassins came up. They were commanded by Herennius a centurion, and Pompilius a tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended when under a prosecution for parricide<sup>128</sup>. The doors of the house being made fast, they broke them open. Still Cicero did not appear; and the servants, who were left behind, declared they knew nothing of him. But a young man named Philologus, his brother Quintus' freedman, whom Cicero had instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, informed the tribune, that they were carrying the litter through deep shades to the sea-side. Upon this the tribune, taking a few soldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out. Cicero, now perceiving that Herennius was hastening after him, ordered the servants to set the litter down; and putting his left hand to his chin, as it

<sup>128</sup> This, it appears from Seneca (Controv. iii. 17.), is an exaggeration. He had only defended him in a private cause. But the ingratitude of Pompilius is still sufficiently dark in it's complexion. The young man, mentioned below, is called Philogonus, Ep. ad Q. Fratr. i. 8.\*

was his custom to do, he looked steadfastly upon his murtherers. The appearance of misery in his countenance, overgrown with hair and wasted with anxiety, so much affected Herennius' attendants, that they covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer despatched him, while he stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow. Thus fell Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius cut off his head, and likewise by Antony's command his hands, with which he had written the *Philippics*. This was the title, which he gave his Orations against Antony, and they retain it to the present day.

When these parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an assembly for the election of magistrates, but on beholding them, he cried out, "Now let there be an end of all 'proscriptions.'" He then ordered the head and hands to be exposed over the *Rostra*, a dreadful spectacle to the Roman people, who thought they did not so much see Cicero's face, as a picture of Antony's soul. Yet he did one act of justice upon this occasion, which was the delivering up of *Philologus* to *Pomponia*, *Quintus'* wife. When she was mistress of his fate, beside other horrid punishments, she made him cut off his own flesh piece-meal, and roast and eat it. This is the account, which some historians give us; but *Tyro*, Cicero's freed-man, makes no mention of *Philologus'* treachery. I have been told, that a long time afterward *Cæsar*, going to see one of his grandsons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide it under his robe, which *Cæsar* perceived, and took it from him: and after having run most of it over as he stood, he returned it, and said, "This was an eloquent man, my dear 'child; an eloquent man, and a lover of his 'country."

Being consul at the time when he conquered Antony, he took Cicero's son for his colleague; under



whose auspices the senate ordered the statues of Antony to be thrown down, defaced all the monuments of his honour, and decreed that for the future none of his family should bear the name of Marcus. Thus, the divine justice reserved the completion of Antony's punishment for the house of Cicero.

## DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO

### COMPARED.

THESE are the most memorable circumstances in the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, that could be collected from the historians which have come to our knowledge. Though I shall not pretend to compare their talents for speaking, yet this I think I ought to observe, that Demosthenes by the exertion of all his powers, both natural and acquired, upon that single object, came to exceed in energy and strength the most celebrated pleaders of his time; in grandeur and magnificence of stile, all that were eminent for the sublime of declamation; and in accuracy and art, the most able professors of rhetoric<sup>123</sup>. Cicero's

<sup>123</sup> In this triple division, Plutarch refers to the known distribution of eloquence by Aristotle into the *δικανικόν*, *σπιδαιτικόν*, and *συμβουλευτικόν* (Rhet. i. 3.), which Quintilian, iii. 7, 8, 9., translates *judiciale*, *demonstrativum* or *laudativum*, and *deliberativum* or *suasorium*.

I cannot help subjoining a fine passage from Parr's Character of C. J. Fox. 'Critics must often have observed a peculiar resemblance between Mr. Fox and Demosthenes, in their disregard of profuse and petty ornaments; in their application of the sound, the salutary, and sometimes homely maxims, which common life supplies for the elucidation of politics; in the devotion of all their mind, and all their soul, and all their strength to a great subject; and in their eagerness to fix upon some pertinent and striking topic, to recur to it frequently †, suddenly, forcibly; and upon each recurrence to hold it up in a new light, and point it in a new direction. But biographers will do well to record that, in conversing with a learned friend, he professed to receive more delight from Cicero than from

† Like a Clitomachus, not a Charmidas, Cic. Orat. par. 150.

studies were more general; and, in his treasures of knowledge, he had a great variety. He has left us a number of philosophical tracts, which he composed upon the principles of the Academy. And we see somewhat of an ostentation of learning in the very Oration, which he wrote for the Forum and the bar.

Their different tempers are discernible in their modes of writing. That of Demosthenes, without any embellishments of wit and humour<sup>130</sup>, is always grave and serious. Neither does it "smell of the lamp," as Pytheas tauntingly said, but of the water-drinker, of the man of thought, of one who was characterised by the austerities of life. But Cicero, who loved to indulge his vein of pleasantry, so much affected the wit, that he sometimes sunk into the buffoon; and, by affecting gayety upon the most serious occasions to serve his client, offended against the rules of propriety and decorum. Thus, in his Oration for Cælius, he asks, "Where is the absurdity, "if a man with affluence at command, indulge himself in pleasure? It would be madness, not to enjoy what is in his power; particularly, when some of the greatest philosophers place the *summum bonum* in pleasure<sup>131</sup>?"

Demosthenes †. Experience in this, as in other instances, puts to flight the conclusions which theorists might be prone to draw from apparent likeness in the characteristic traits of style. Similitude is not always the effect of voluntary and conscious imitation, nor does approbation always imply direct and general preference for the purposes of composition. We have been told, that Euripides was the favourite writer of Milton in his closet, but in Milton's poetry we often meet with the bolder feature, and the more vivid colouring, which enrapture and astonish us in the Tragedies of Æschylus.' (l. 184.)

<sup>130</sup> Yet Cicero, de Clar. Orat. 26., is of a different opinion; as is also Hermogenes de Meth. v. 33. Quintilian however, Dion. Halic., and Longinus 34. agree more nearly with Plutarch; and Æschines, in one of his Epistles, says, 'he never raised a laugh on any cheek but Ctesiphon's.\*'

<sup>131</sup> Plutarch has not quoted this passage with accuracy. Cicero apologises for the excesses of youth: but he does not defend, or approve, the pursuit of pleasure. See Pro Cæl. 17.

† Hume was of a different opinion. See his Essay on Eloquence.

When Cato impeached Muræna, Cicero, who was then consul, undertook his defence; and, in his pleading, seized the opportunity of ridiculing several paradoxes of the Stoics, because Cato was of that sect. In this he succeeded so far, as to raise a laugh in the assembly; and even among the judges. Upon which Cato smiled, and said to those who sat near him, "What a laughter-raising consul we have\*!" Cicero, indeed, was naturally facetious; and he not only loved his jest, but his countenance was gay and smiling. Whereas Demosthenes had a care and thoughtfulness in his aspect, which he seldom or never put off. Hence his enemies, as he confesses, called him 'a morose ill-natured man.'

It appears also from their writings, that Demosthenes, when he touches upon his own praise, does it with an inoffensive delicacy. He never in fact does it at all, but when he has some great point in view, and upon all other occasions he is extremely modest. But Cicero, in his Orations, speaks in such high terms of himself, that it is plain he had a most intemperate vanity. Thus he cries out:

Let arms revere the robe, the wreathed brow  
Yield to the tongue<sup>132</sup>.

At length he came to commend not only his own actions and operations in the commonwealth, but likewise his speeches<sup>133</sup>, as well those which he had only pronounced, as those which he had committed to writing; as if, in juvenile vanity, he were vying with the rhetoricians Isocrates and Anaximenes, instead of being inspired with the lofty ambition of guiding the Roman people,

Fierce in the field and dreadful to the foe.

\* See the Life of Cato, V. 70.\*

<sup>132</sup> In this he was represented by Piso, as intending to claim a superiority over all the military Illustrissimi of Rome, and particularly Pompey; but, in Orat. in Pison. 363., he warmly repels the charge.\*

<sup>133</sup> For a more candid estimate of this part of his character, see Quint. xi. 1.\*

It is necessary, indeed, for a statesman to have the advantage of eloquence ; but it is mean and illiberal to rely upon such a qualification, or to hunt after praise in that quarter. In this respect Demosthenes behaved with more dignity, and superior elevation of soul. He said, " His ability to explain himself " was a mere acquisition ; and not so perfect, but " that it required great candour and indulgence on " the part of the audience <sup>134</sup>." He thought it must be, as indeed it is, only a low and little mind, that can value itself upon such attainments.

They had both undoubtedly political abilities, as well as powers to persuade ; and those in such a degree, that men who had armies at their devotion, stood in need of their support. Thus Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes availed themselves of Demosthenes ; and Pompey and young Cæsar of Cicero ; as Cæsar himself acknowledges, in his Commentaries <sup>135</sup> addressed to Agrippa and Mæcenas.

It is an observation no less just than common, that ' nothing makes so thorough a trial of a man's disposition, as power and authority.' For they awaken every passion, and discover every latent vice. Demosthenes never had an opportunity for a trial of this kind. He never obtained any eminent charge ; neither did he lead against Philip those armies, which his eloquence had raised. But Cicero went quæstor into Sicily, and proconsul into Cilicia and Cappadocia : at a time too, when avarice reigned without control ; when the governors of provinces, thinking it beneath them to take a clandestine advantage, fell to open plunder ; when to seize another's property was deemed no great crime, and he who pillaged moderately passed for a man of character. Yet, at such a time as this, Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt of money, and many of his humanity and

<sup>134</sup> Περὶ Στεφ. 81., and also περὶ Παρμεν. 96.\*

<sup>135</sup> These consisted of thirteen books, and came down to the defeat of the Cantabri. (Suct. Aug. 85.) The observation, which follows, refers to a passage in Soph. Antig. 181—183.\*

goodness. At Rome, with the title only of consul, he had an absolute and dictatorial power against Catiline and his accomplices. Upon which occasion, he verified the prediction of Plato, "That every state  
" would be delivered from it's calamities, whenever  
" power should fortunately unite with wisdom and  
" justice in one person <sup>136</sup>."

It is mentioned, to the disgrace of Demosthenes, that his eloquence was mercenary; that he privately composed orations both for Phormio and Apollodorus, though adversaries in the same cause <sup>137</sup>. To which we may add, that he was suspected of having received money from the king of Persia, and condemned for having taken bribes of Harpalus. Supposing some of these charges the calumnies of those, who wrote against him (and they are not a few), yet it is impossible to affirm, that he was proof against the presents sent him by princes, as marks of honour and respect. This was too much to be expected from a man, who vested his money at interest upon ships <sup>138</sup>. Cicero on the other hand had magnificent presents sent him by the Sicilians, when he was ædile; by the king of Cappadocia, when proconsul; and by his friends was pressed to receive their benefactions, when in exile; yet, as we have already observed, he refused them all.

The banishment of Demosthenes reflected infamy upon him, for he was convicted of having taken bribes: that of Cicero did him great honour, because he suffered for having destroyed traitors, who had vowed the ruin of their country. The former, therefore, departed without exciting pity or regret: for

<sup>136</sup> *Cum aut philosophi regnarent, aut reges philosopharentur.\**

<sup>137</sup> Gives forked counsel; takes provoking gold  
On either hand. (Jonson.)

Quintilian however, xii. l., does not believe *all* that has been said to his discredit.\*

<sup>138</sup> This, which (though so heavily censured) was sanctioned by the laws, is now called 'Bottomry,' and is rather considered as a dangerous than a disgraceful mode of employing money. Plutarch has before passed a censure upon it; see the Life of Cato the Censor, II. 523.\*

the latter the senate changed their habit, continued to mourn his absence, and could not be persuaded to pass any act till he was recalled. Cicero, indeed, spent the time of exile in an inactive manner in Macedonia; but with Demosthenes it was a busy period in his political character. Then it was (as we have mentioned above) that he visited the several cities of Greece, strengthened the common interest, and defeated the designs of the Macedonian ambassadors. In which respect, he discovered a much higher regard for his country, than Themistocles and Alcibiades had done when under the same misfortune. After his return, he pursued his former plan of government, and continued the war with Antipater and the Macedonians. Whereas Lælius reproached Cicero in full senate with sitting silent, when Cæsar, who was not yet come to years of maturity, applied for the consulship contrary to law<sup>139</sup>. And Brutus, in one of his letters, charged him with “having reared  
“a greater and more insupportable tyranny, than  
“that which they had destroyed.”

As to the manner of their death, we cannot think of Cicero's without a contemptuous kind of pity. How deplorable to see an old man, for want of proper resolution, suffering himself to be carried about by his servants, endeavouring to hide himself from death (a messenger, which nature would soon have sent him), and overtaken notwithstanding, and slaughtered by his enemies! The other, though he discovered some fear indeed by taking sanctuary, is nevertheless to be admired for his having judiciously provided poison, carefully preserved it, and nobly

<sup>139</sup> This was powerfully enforced by the centurion Cornelius, who threw back his cloke, and showed the hilt of his sword, saying, *Hic faciet, si vos non feceritis.* (Suet. Aug. 26.) And yet, notwithstanding this menace, Cicero (according to Dio, xlv. 43.) had the courage to say, ‘If Cæsar canvasses with the sword, he must succeed.’ *Αι ἑγὼς παρεκκαλετῆ, λαψέται αὐτὴν.\**

used it <sup>140</sup>. So that, when Neptune did not afford him an asylum, he had recourse to a more inviolable altar, rescued himself from the weapons of the guards, and eluded Antipater's cruelty.

<sup>140</sup> This, it must again be remarked, is the observation of a heathen, and in direct opposition to the more Christian-like opinions of Socrates and Plato, who condemn suicide as the most dastardly of resources.

When all the blandishments of life are gone,  
The coward sneaks to death, the brave live on.

(Dr. Sewel.\*)

THE  
L I F E  
OF  
DEMETRIUS.

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SUMMARY.

*Error of those, who first thought the arts might be compared to the senses. Examples of bad have their use. Birth and character of Demetrius. His affection for his father : Dexterity in saving one of his friends. He is defeated by Ptolemy king of Egypt : subdues the Nabathean Arabs ; retakes Babylon ; and forms the project of rescuing Greece from slavery. Arrives at Athens. The people send deputies to him. He re-instates them in their liberties : takes Megara ; and declares it free : re-establishes the democracy at Athens. Excessive honours decreed to him. Resentment of the gods. Still more extravagant decree of Dromoclides. Demetrius marries Eurydice : is sent by his father to conquer Cyprus : gains the battle of Salamis in that island : his subsequent moderation. Flattery of Aristodemus. Antigonus and Demetrius receive the title of ' Kings.' Their unfortunate expedition against Ptolemy. Singular contrasts in Demetrius' manners. His magnificent cultivation of the arts : extraordinary machine used by him at the siege of Rhodes. He takes that city, and shows great kindness to the inhabitants : drives Cassander out of Greece. His infamous debaucheries. Heroism of Democles. Fresh servilities of the Athenians. Successes of Demetrius in Peloponnesus. His pride, and contempt of other kings. He procures his admission irregularly into the Greater Mysteries of Ceres. The extravagance of Lamia, one of his mistresses. His long passion for her. League of several princes against Antigonus. Discouraging omens. Success of the confederacy : Antigonus is slain. The Athenians refuse to admit*



*Demetrius into their city: his indignation. He marries his daughter to Seleucus. Unjustifiable behaviour of that prince. Demetrius besieges, and takes Athens. His alternations of fortune. He is called into Macedon by Alexander, and constrained through his jealousy to retire. He gets him assassinated, and himself proclaimed king of Macedon. Passion of young Antiochus for his step-mother Stratonice, discovered by his physician Erasistratus; who contrives to obtain her for him from his father Seleucus. Demetrius besieges and takes Thebes, and treats it with the utmost clemency. He ravages Epirus. His pride and ostentation offend his subjects. He makes a treaty with Pyrrhus. His vast projects. Several princes combine against him: his soldiers go over to Pyrrhus. He flies. Death of his wife Phila. He collects some fresh forces; and lays siege to Athens, but raises it again. Marches against Lysimachus. Distress to which he is reduced by Agathocles. Seleucus refuses to succour him. He nearly succeeds in surprising that prince: is obliged to yield himself prisoner at discretion. Seleucus' courtiers do him ill offices. He is sent to the Syrian Chersonese, where he indulges in drinking, &c., and dies at the end of three years. His funeral.*

**T**HOSE, who first thought that the arts might be compared to the senses in the perception of their respective objects, appear to me to have well understood the power, by which that perception was to be formed; the power, I mean, of distinguishing contrary qualities; for this they have in common. But in the mode of distinguishing, as well as in the end of what is distinguished, they evidently differ. The senses, for instance, have no connate power of perceiving a white object more than a black one, what is sweet more than what is bitter, or what is soft and yielding more than what is hard and solid. Their office is to receive impressions from such objects as strike upon them, and to convey those impressions to the mind. But the operation of the arts is more

rational. They are not, like the senses, passive in their perceptions: they choose or reject what is proper or improper: what is good, they attend to primarily and intentionally; and what is evil, only accidentally, in order to avoid it. Thus, the art of medicine considers the nature of diseases, and music that of discordant sounds, in order to produce their contraries. And the most excellent of all arts, temperance, justice, and prudence, teach us to judge not only of what is honourable, just, and useful; but also of what is pernicious, disgraceful, and unjust. These arts bestow no praise on that innocence, which boasts an entire ignorance of vice; in their estimate, it is rather an absurd simplicity to be ignorant of those things, which every one disposed to live virtuously should make it his particular care to know. Accordingly the ancient Spartans at their feasts used to compel the Helots to drink an excessive quantity of wine, and then bring them into the public halls where they dined, with the view of showing the young men what drunkenness was.

We do not indeed think it agreeable either to humanity or good policy, to corrupt some of the species, in order to correct others. Yet, perhaps, it may not be amiss to insert among the rest of the Lives a pair or two of examples of those, who have abused their power to the purposes of licentiousness, and whose elevation has only made their vices greater and more conspicuous. Not that we adduce them to give pleasure, or to adorn our paintings with the graces of variety; but we do it from the same motive with Ismenias the Theban musician, who presented his scholars with both good and bad performers on the flute; and used to say, "Thus you must play, and thus you must not play." And Antigenidas observed, "That young men would hear good performers with much higher pleasure, after they had heard bad ones." In like manner, in my opinion, we shall behold and imitate the virtuous with deeper attention, if we be

not entirely unacquainted with the characters of the vicious and the infamous.

In this book, therefore, we shall give the Lives of Demetrius surnamed Poliorcetes<sup>1</sup>, and of Antony the triumvir: men, who both most remarkably verified that observation of Plato, 'That great parts produce great vices, as well as virtues.' They were equally addicted to wine and women, both excellent soldiers, and persons of remarkable munificence; but at the same time, both prodigal and insolent. The same resemblance characterised their fortunes. For, in the course of their lives, they met both with great successes, and great disappointments; now extending their conquests with the utmost rapidity, and now losing all; now falling beyond all expectation, and now recovering themselves when there was as little prospect of such a change. This similarity there was in their lives, and in the concluding scenes of them there was not much difference; for the one was taken by his enemies and died in captivity, and the other was very near sharing the same fate.

Antigonus having two sons by Stratonice, the daughter of Corraeus, called the one after his brother Demetrius, and the other after his father Philip. So most historians state. But some affirm, that Demetrius was not the son of Antigonus, but his nephew; and that his father dying and leaving him an infant, and his mother soon afterward marrying Antigonus, he was upon that account considered as his son. Philip, who was not many years younger than Demetrius, died at an early period. Demetrius, though tall, was not equal in size to his father Antigonus. But his beauty and mien were so inimitable, that no statuary or painter could hit off a likeness. His countenance had a mixture of grace and dignity, and was at once amiable and awful; and the unsubdued and eager air of youth was blended with the majesty of

<sup>1</sup> Or, 'The taker of cities.'

the hero and the king. There was the same happy mixture in his behaviour, which inspired at once pleasure and reverence. In his hours of leisure a most agreeable companion, in his table and every species of entertainment, of all princes the most delicate; and yet, when business called, unequalled in activity, diligence, and despatch. In which respect, he imitated Bacchus<sup>2</sup> most of all the gods; since he was not only terrible in war, but knew how to terminate war with peace, and turn with the happiest address to the joys and pleasures which that inspires.

His affection for his father was remarkably great; and in the respect, which he paid his mother, his love for his other parent was easily discernible. His duty was genuine, and not in the least influenced by the considerations of high station or power. Happening to return from hunting, when his father was giving audience to some ambassadors, he went up and saluted him, and then sat down by him with his javelin in his hand. After they had received their answer and were going away, Antigonus called out to them, and said, "You may mention likewise the happy terms, upon which I live with my son." By this he gave them to understand, that their mutual harmony and confidence added strength to the kingdom, and security to his power. So incapable is regal authority of admitting a partner<sup>3</sup>, so liable to jealousy and hatred, that the greatest and oldest of Alexander's successors rejoiced that he had no occasion to fear his own son, but could freely let him approach with his weapons in his hand. We may venture indeed to say that this family alone, in the course of many successions, was free from these

<sup>2</sup> Of whom Horace says,

— Sed idem  
*Pacis eras mediusque belli.* (Od. II. xix. 28.)\*

<sup>3</sup> *Nec regna socium ferre, nec tædæ sciunt.\**

evils. Of all the descendents of Antigonus, Philip<sup>4</sup> was the only prince who put his son to death; whereas, in the families of other kings, nothing is more common than the murders of sons, and mothers, and wives. As for the killing of brothers, like a postulate in geometry, it was considered as indisputably necessary to the safety of the reigning prince.

That Demetrius was originally well disposed by nature to the offices of humanity and friendship, the following is a proof: Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, was of the same age, and his constant companion. He was likewise one of the attendants of Antigonus, and bore an unblemished character: yet Antigonus conceived some suspicion of him from a dream. He thought he entered a large and beautiful field, and sowed it with filings of gold. This produced a crop of the same precious metal; but coming a little afterward to visit it, he found it was cut, and nothing left but the stalks. As he was in great distress about his loss, he heard some people say, that Mithridates had reaped the golden harvest, and was gone with it toward the Euxine sea.

Disturbed at this dream, he communicated it to his son, having first made him swear to keep it secret; and, at the same time, he informed him of his absolute determination to destroy Mithridates. Demetrius was exceedingly concerned at the affair; but though his friend waited upon him as usual, that they might pursue their diversions together, he durst not speak to him on the subject, because of his oath. By degrees, however, he drew him aside from the rest of his companions; and, when they were alone, he wrote on the ground with the point of his spear, "Fly, Mithridates." The young man, understanding his danger, fled that night into Cappadocia; and fate soon accomplished Antigonus' dream. For Mi-

<sup>4</sup> See the Life of Paulus Æmilius, II. 290. Of the death of the young prince, Demetrius, an account is given by Livy, x l. 24.; and upon it is founded Dr. Young's affecting tragedy of 'The Brothers.'\*

thridates conquered a rich and extensive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight successions, and was at last destroyed by the Romans<sup>5</sup>. This is a sufficient evidence, that Demetrius was naturally well inclined to justice and humanity.

But as, according to Empedocles, love and hatred are the sources of perpetual wars between the elements, particularly such as touch or approach each other, so among the successors of Alexander there were continual wars; and the contentions were always the most violent, when inflamed by opposition of interest, or vicinity of place. This was the case of Antigonus and Ptolemy<sup>6</sup>. Antigonus, while he resided in Phrygia, received information that Ptolemy was gone from Cyprus into Syria, where he was ravaging the country, and reducing the cities either by solicitation or force. Upon this, he sent against him his son Demetrius, though he was then only twenty-two years of age, and in this first command had the greatest and most difficult affairs to manage. But a young and unexperienced man was unequally matched with a general from the school of Alexander, who had distinguished himself in many important combats under that prince. Accordingly, he was defeated near Gaza; with the loss of five thousand of his men killed, and eight thousand taken prisoners. He lost also his tent, his military chest, and his whole equipage. But Ptolemy sent them back to him, together with his friends; adding this generous and obliging message, "That they ought only to contend for glory and empire." When Demetrius received it, he begged of the gods, "That he might not long remain Ptolemy's debtor, but speedily have it in his power to return the favour." Neither was he disconcerted, as most young men would be, with such a misarrriage in his first essay.

<sup>5</sup> In the person of Mithridates VIII., whom Galba caused to be put to death.\*

<sup>6</sup> The founder of the kingdom of Egypt.\*

On the contrary, like a complete general accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune, he employed himself in making new levies and providing arms; kept the cities in their duty, and exercised the troops which he had raised.

As soon as Antigonus was apprised how the battle had terminated, he said, "Ptolemy has indeed beaten boys, but he shall soon have to do with men." As he did not however choose to repress his son's spirit, he gave him permission, upon his earnest request, to try his fortune again by himself. Not long after this Cilles, Ptolemy's general, undertook to drive Demetrius entirely out of Syria; for which purpose he brought with him a numerous army, though he held him in contempt on account of his late defeat. But Demetrius by a sudden attack struck his adversaries with such a panic, that both the camp and the general fell into his hands, together with very considerable treasures. Yet he did not consider the gain, but the ability to give: neither did he so much value the glory and the riches, which this advantage procured him, as it's enabling him to requite the generosity of Ptolemy. He would not proceed, however, upon his own judgement: he consulted his father; and, on his free permission to act as he thought proper, he loaded Cilles and his friends with his favours, and sent them back to their master. By this turn of affairs, Ptolemy lost his footing in Syria; and Antigonus marched down from Celænæ<sup>7</sup>, rejoicing in his son's success, and impatient to embrace him.

Demetrius after this, being sent to subdue the Nabathæan Arabs<sup>8</sup>, found himself in great danger, by falling into a desert country, which afforded no water. But the barbarians, astonished at his uncommon intrepidity, did not venture to molest him; and he retired with a considerable booty, among which were seven hundred camels.

<sup>7</sup> A city in Upper Phrygia.\*

<sup>8</sup> Situated in the eastern part of Arabia Petrea.\*

Antigonus had formerly taken Babylon from Seleucus<sup>9</sup>, but he had recovered it by his own arms, and was now marching with his main army to reduce the nations which bordered upon India, and the provinces about Mount Caucasus. In the mean time Demetrius, hoping to find Mesopotamia unguarded, suddenly passed the Euphrates, and attacked Babylon. There were two strong castles in that city; but by this manœuvre in Seleucus' absence he seized one of them, dislodged the garrison, and placed there seven thousand of his own men. After this, he ordered the rest of his soldiers to plunder the country for their own benefit, and then return to the sea-coast. By these proceedings, he left Seleucus better established in his dominions than ever; for his laying waste the country seemed to imply, that he abandoned all farther claim to it.

In his return through Syria, he was informed that Ptolemy was besieging Halicarnassus, upon which he hastened to it's relief, and obliged him to retire. As this ambition to succour the distressed gained Antigonus and Demetrius great reputation, they conceived a strong desire to rescue all Greece from the slavery, in which it was held by Cassander and Ptolemy. No princes ever engaged in a more just and honourable war. For they employed the wealth, which they had gained by the conquest of the barbarians, for the advantage of the Greeks; solely with a view to the honour, which such an enterprise held out.

When they had resolved to begin their operations with Athens, one of his friends advised Antigonus, if he took that city, to keep it as the key of Greece; but he would not listen to him. He said, "The best and securest of all keys was the friendship of the people; and that Athens was the watch-tower of the world, whence the torch of his glory would blaze over the earth."

<sup>9</sup> The founder of the kingdom of Syria.\*



In consequence of these resolutions, Demetrius sailed to Athens with five thousand talents of silver, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. Demetrius the Phalerean governed the city for Cassander, and had a good garrison in the fort of Munychia. His adversary, who managed the affair both with prudence and good fortune, made his appearance before the Piræus on the twenty-fifth of Thargelion<sup>10</sup>. The inhabitants, unapprised of his approach, when they saw his fleet coming in, concluded that it belonged to Ptolemy, and prepared to receive it as such. At last however the officers who commanded in the city, being undeceived, hastened to oppose it. All the tumult and confusion ensued, which might naturally be expected when an enemy had come unexpectedly, and was already landing. For Demetrius, finding the mouth of the harbour open, ran in with ease; and the people could plainly distinguish him on the deck of his ship, whence he made signs to them to compose themselves and keep silence. With this demand they complied, and a herald was ordered to proclaim; "That his father Antigonus (in a happy hour, he hoped, for Athens) had sent him to reinstate them in their liberties by expelling the garrison, and to restore their laws and ancient form of government."

Upon this proclamation, the people threw down their arms, and embracing the proposals with loud acclamations, desired him to disembark, and hailed him their benefactor and deliverer. Demetrius the Phalerean, and his partisans, thought it necessary to admit a man who came with such a superior force, though he should not perform any of his promises, and accordingly sent deputies to make their submission. Demetrius received them in an obliging manner, and despatched back with them Aristodemus the Milesian, a friend of his father's. Neither was he unmindful of Demetrius the Phalerean, who in

this revolution was more afraid of the citizens than of the enemy ; but, from regard to his character and virtue, he sent him with a strong convoy to Thebes, agreeably to his request. He likewise assured the Athenians, that however desirous he might be to see their city, he would deny himself that pleasure, till he had set it entirely free by expelling the garrison. He therefore surrounded the fortress of Munychia with a ditch and rampart, to cut off its communication with the rest of the city, and then sailed to Megara, where Cassander had another garrison.

Upon his arrival, he was informed that Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander son of Polyperchon, a celebrated beauty, was at Patræ<sup>11</sup>, and was solicitous of having an interview with him. In consequence of which he left his forces in the territory of Megara, and with a few light horse took the road to Patræ. On approaching the place, he drew off from his men, and pitched his tent apart, that Cratesipolis might not be perceived when she came to pay her visit. But a party of the enemy, getting intelligence of this, fell suddenly upon him. In his alarm, he had only time to huddle on a mean cloke ; and, in that disguise, he saved himself by flight. So near an infamous captivity had his intemperate love of beauty brought him. His tent the enemy seized, with all the riches which it contained.

After Megara was taken, the soldiers prepared to plunder it ; but the Athenians interceded strongly for that people, and prevailed. Demetrius was satisfied with expelling the garrison, and declared the city free. Amidst these transactions he bethought himself of Stilpo, a philosopher of great reputation, who sought only the retirement and tranquillity of a studious life ; and sending for him, enquired of him, “ Whether they had taken any thing from him ? ” “ No,” said Stilpo, “ I found none, who wished to steal any knowledge.” The soldiers, however, had

<sup>11</sup> A city of Achaia, at the mouth of the gulf of Lepanto.\*

clandestinely carried off all the slaves. When Demetrius therefore paid his respects to him again, on leaving the place, and said, "Stilpo, I leave you entirely free;" "True," answered Stilpo, "for you have not left a slave among us."

Demetrius then returned to the siege of Munychia, dislodged the garrison, and demolished the fortress. After which, the Athenians pressing him to enter the city, he complied. He then assembled the people, re-established the commonwealth in it's ancient form, and moreover promised them, in the name of his father, a hundred and fifty thousand medimni of wheat, and timber enough to build a hundred galleys. Thus they recovered the democracy, fifteen years after it had been dissolved. During the interval subsequent to the Lamian war and the battle of Cranon, the government, though called an oligarchy, had in fact been monarchical; for the power of Demetrius the Phalercan had met with no control.

Their deliverer appeared glorious in his services to Athens; but they rendered him obnoxious by the extravagant honours, which they decreed him. For they were the first to give him and his father Antigonus the title of 'Kings,' which they had hitherto religiously avoided; and which was indeed the only thing left to the descendents of Philip and Alexander, un-invaded by their generals. In the next place, they alone<sup>12</sup> honoured them with the appellation of 'the Gods-Protectors;' and, instead of denominating the year as formerly from the Archon, they abolished his office, created annually in his room a priest of those gods-protectors, and prefixed his name to all their public acts. They likewise ordered, that their portraits should be wrought in the holy veil with those of the other gods<sup>13</sup>. They

<sup>12</sup> No other people were found capable of such vile adulation. Their servility showed, how little they deserved the liberty, which had been restored to them.

<sup>13</sup> Every fifth year the Athenians celebrated the Panathenæa, or festival of Minerva; and carried in procession the Peplos, or 'holy

consecrated the place, where their patron first arrived from his chariot, and erected an altar to Demetrius Catabates [‘the Dismounter.’] They added two to the number of their tribes, and called them Demetrias and Antigonis; in consequence of which the senate, before consisting of five hundred members, was to consist of six hundred, for each tribe supplied fifty.

Stratocles, who invented all these refined and extravagant compliments, devised a still higher stroke. He procured a decree, that those who should be sent upon public business from the commonwealth of Athens to Antigonos and Demetrius, should be called, not ‘embassadors’ but ‘Theori;’ a title which had been appropriated to such as, on the solemn festivals, carried the customary sacrifices to Delphi and Olympia, in the name of the Grecian states. This Stratocles was, in all respects, a person of the most daring effrontery and the most debauched life; insomuch, that he seemed to imitate the ancient Cleon<sup>14</sup> in his scurrilous and licentious behaviour to the people. He kept a mistress, called Phylacium; and one day, when she brought from the market some heads for supper, he said, “Why, how now! you have provided us just such things to eat, as we statesmen use for tennis balls.”

When the Athenians were defeated in the sea-fight near Amorgos<sup>15</sup>, he arrived at Athens before any account of the misfortune had been received, and passing through the Ceramicus with a chaplet upon

veil’ (a large robe without sleeves), in which the defeat of the Titans and the actions of Minerva were inwrought. In this veil likewise they placed the figures of those commanders, who had distinguished themselves by their victories; and thence came the expression, that ‘such a one was worthy of the Peplum;’ meaning, that he was a brave soldier. This Peplum was drawn by land in a machine like a ship along the Ceramicus, as far as the temple of Ceres at Eleusis, whence it was brought back and consecrated in the citadel.

<sup>14</sup> See the Life of Pericles, II. 51., and note (95.)\*

<sup>15</sup> One of the Sporades I. near Naxos. See Diod. Sic. xviii. 15.\*

his head, informed the people that they were victorious. He then moved that sacrifices of thanksgiving should be offered, and meat distributed among the tribes for public entertainment. Two days afterward, the poor remains of the fleet were brought home; and the people in great anger summoning him to answer for the imposition, he made his appearance in the height of the tumult with the most consummate assurance, and said; "What harm have I done you, in making you merry for two days?" Such was his impudence.

But there were other extravagances,

Hotter than fire itself,

as Aristophanes expresses it. One flatterer outdid even Stratocles in servility, by procuring a decree that Demetrius, whenever he visited Athens, should be received with the same honours which were paid to Ceres and Bacchus; and that whoever exceeded the rest in the splendour and magnificence of his reception, should have money out of the treasury to enable him to set up some pious memorial of his success. These instances of adulation concluded with their changing the name of the month Munychion to 'Demetrium', with calling the last day of every month 'Demetrias,' and the Dionysia (or feasts of Bacchus) 'Demetria.'

The gods soon showed, how much they were offended at these things. For the veil, in which were wrought the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus along with those of Jupiter and Minerva, as they carried it through the Ceramicus, was rent asunder by a sudden storm of wind. Hemlock, though a plant seldom found in that country, sprung up in great quantities round their altars. On the day, when the Dionysia were to be celebrated, the priests were compelled to put a stop to the procession by an excessive and unseasonable cold; and there fell so strong a hoar-frost, that it blasted not only the vines

and figtrees, but also a considerable part of the corn in the blade. Hence Philippides, who was an enemy to Stratocles, thus attacked him in one of his comedies :

He for whose guilt our shrivell'd vines complain,  
Through whom our holy veil was rent in twain,  
Who first to man the rites of gods transferr'd—  
He, he—not comedy<sup>16</sup>, perverts the herd.

This Philippides enjoyed the friendship of Lysimachus, and the Athenians received many favours from that prince upon his account. Nay, whenever Lysimachus happened to meet or see this poet, he considered it as a good omen, and a happy time to enter upon any great business or important expedition. Besides, he was a man of excellent character, and never importunate or officious, like those who are bred in a court. One day Lysimachus talked to him in a most obliging manner, and said, “What is there of mine, that you would share in?” “Any thing,” said he, “but your secrets.” I have purposely contrasted these characters, that the difference may be obvious between the comic writer and the demagogue.

What exceeded however all the rage of flattery above-mentioned, was the decree proposed by Dromocles the Sphettian; injoining the people to consult the oracle of Demetrius, as to the mode in which they were to dedicate certain shields at Delphi. This was expressed in the following terms: “In a fortunate hour be it decreed by the people, that a citizen of Athens be appointed to go to the god-protector, and after due sacrifices demand of Demetrius, the god-protector, what will be the most pious, honourable, and expeditious mode of consecrating the intended offerings. And it is hereby enacted,

<sup>16</sup> Stratocles most probably, and other persons of his character, inveighed against the dramatic writers, on account of the liberties which they took with their vices; though this was after the time, when the Middle Comedy prevailed at Athens. (L.) Philippides composed a hundred and fifty-four pieces, of which however only a few fragments are now extant.\*

“ that the people of Athens shall follow the mode dictated by his oracle.” By this mockery of incense to the vanity of one, who was scarcely before in his senses, they rendered him perfectly insane.

During his stay at Athens he married Eurydice (a descendent of the ancient Miltiades), who was the widow of Opheltas king of Cyrene, and had returned to Athens after his death. The Athenians reckoned this a particular favour and honour to their city; though Demetrius made no kind of difficulty in marrying, and had many wives at the same time. Among the whole number, he paid the greatest respect to Phila; because she was the daughter of Antipater, and had been married to Craterus, who of all the successors of Alexander was most regretted by the Macedonians. Demetrius was very young, when his father persuaded him to marry her, though she was advanced in life, and on that account unfit for him. As he was disinclined to the match, Antigonus is said to have repeated to him that verse of Euripides, with a happy parody;

’Midst Fortune’s stores, to marriage we submit,  
Against the bent of nature.

Only putting ‘ marriage’, instead of ‘ bondage.’ The respect however, which Demetrius paid to Phila and his other wives, was not of such a nature, but that he publicly entertained many mistresses, as well slaves as free-born women, and was more infamous for his excesses of that description than any other prince of his age.

In the mean while, his father called him to take the conduct of the war against Ptolemy, and he found it necessary to obey him. But as it gave him pain to leave the war, which he had undertaken for the liberties of Greece (a war so much more advantageous in point of glory), he sent to Cleonides, who commanded for Ptolemy in Sicyon and Corinth, and offered him a pecuniary consideration, on condition that he would set those cities free. Cleonides not

accepting the proposal, Demetrius immediately embarked his troops, and sailed to Cyprus. There he had an engagement with Menelaüs, brother to Ptolemy, and defeated him. Ptolemy himself soon afterward made his appearance, with a great number of land-forces, and a considerable fleet. Upon which occasion, several menacing and haughty messages passed between them. Ptolemy bade Demetrius depart, before he collected all his forces and trod him under foot; and Demetrius said, he would let Ptolemy go, if he would promise to evacuate Sicyon and Corinth.

The approaching battle awakened the attention - both of the parties concerned, and of all other princes; for beside the uncertainty of the event, so much depended upon it, that the conqueror would be not master of Cyprus and Syria alone, but superior to all his rivals in power. Ptolemy advanced with a hundred and fifty ships; and he had ordered Menelaüs, with sixty more, to come out of the harbour of Salamis<sup>17</sup> in the heat of the battle, and throw the enemy into disorder by falling on his rear. Against these sixty ships Demetrius appointed a guard of ten, a number sufficient to block up the mouth of the harbour. His land-forces he ranged on the adjoining promontories, and then bore down upon his adversary with a hundred and eighty ships. This he did with so much impetuosity that Ptolemy could not stand the shock, but was defeated and fled with eight ships, the whole that he was able to save; for seventy were taken with their crews, and the rest sunk in the engagement. His numerous train, his servants, friends, wives, arms, money, and machines, which had been stationed near the fleet in transports, all fell into Demetrius' hands, and were carried by him to his camp.

Among these was the celebrated Lamia, who at first acquired notice solely for her performance on

<sup>17</sup> A sea port in Cyprus.



the flute, and that was by no means contemptible, but afterward became famous as a courtesan. By this time, her beauty was in the wane: yet she captivated Demetrius, though not near her age, and so effectually enslaved him by the peculiar power of her address, that though other women had a passion for him, he had no passion but for her.

After the sea-fight, Menelaüs made no farther resistance, but surrendered Salamis with all the ships and the land-forces, which consisted of twelve hundred horse and twelve thousand foot.

This victory, so great in itself, Demetrius rendered still more glorious by his generosity and humanity, in giving the enemy's dead an honourable interment, and setting the prisoners free. He selected twelve hundred complete suits of armour from the spoils, and bestowed them upon the Athenians. Aristodemus the Milesian was the person, whom he sent to his father with an account of the victory. Of all the courtiers, this man was the boldest flatterer; and upon the present occasion he designed to outdo himself. When he arrived on the coast of Syria from Cyprus, he would not suffer the ship to make land; but ordering it to anchor at a distance, and all the company to remain aboard, he took the boat, and went on shore alone. He then advanced toward the palace of Antigonus, who was expecting the event of the battle with all the solicitude natural to a man with so vast a concern at stake. Upon hearing that the messenger was on his way, his anxiety increased to such a degree, that he could scarcely keep within his palace. He sent his officers and friends, one after another, to Aristodemus, to demand what intelligence he brought. But, instead of giving any of them an answer, he walked on with the utmost silence and solemnity. The king by this time much alarmed, and having no longer patience, went to the door to meet him. A great crowd was gathered about Aristodemus, and people were running together from all quarters to the palace to hear the news. When he

was near enough to be heard, he stretched out his hand, and cried aloud, "Hail to king Antigonus! We have totally beaten Ptolemy at sea, we are masters of Cyprus, and have made sixteen thousand eight hundred prisoners." Antigonus answered, "Hail to you too, my good friend! but I will punish you for torturing us so long; you shall wait long for the reward of your good tidings."

The people now, for the first time, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius 'Kings.' Antigonus had the diadem immediately put on by his friends. He sent another to Demetrius, and in the letter, which accompanied it, addressed him under the stile of 'King.' The Egyptians, when they were apprised of this circumstance, gave Ptolemy likewise the title of 'king,' that they might not appear dispirited by their late defeat. The other successors of Alexander caught eagerly at the opportunity to aggrandise themselves. Lysimachus took the diadem; and Seleucus, in his transactions with the Greeks, did the same. He had already done it for some time, whenever he gave orders to the barbarians; Cassander alone, while others wrote to him and saluted him as 'King,' prefixed his name to his letters exactly as he had been accustomed to do.

This title proved not a mere addition to their name and figure. It gave them higher notions. It introduced pompousness into their manners, and self-importance into their discourse. Just as tragedians, when they take the habit of kings, change their gait, voice, deportment, and manner of address. After this too, they became more severe in their judicial capacity; for they laid aside that dissimulation, with which they had hitherto concealed their power, and which had made them much milder and more favourable to their subjects. So much could one word of a flatterer accomplish! Such a change did it effect in the whole face of the world!

Antigonus, elated with his son's achievements

at Cyprus, immediately marched against Ptolemy; commanding his land-forces in person, while Demetrius with a powerful fleet attended him along the coast. One of Antigonus' friends, named Medius, had the event of this expedition communicated to him in a dream. He thought, that Antigonus and his whole army were running a race. At first he seemed to advance with great swiftness and force, but afterward his strength gradually abated, and on turning he became very weak, and drew his breath with such pain, that he could scarcely recover himself. Accordingly, Antigonus met with many difficulties at land, and Demetrius encountered such a storm at sea, that he was in danger of being driven upon an impracticable shore. In this storm he lost many of his ships, and returned without having effected any thing.

Antigonus was now little short of eighty; and his immense size and weight, still more than his age, disqualified him for war. He therefore left the military department to his son, who by his good fortune, as well as ability, managed it in the happiest manner. Neither was Antigonus hurt by his debaucheries, his expensive appearance, or his long carousals. For these were what Demetrius pursued in the time of peace with the utmost licentiousness, and the most unbounded avidity. But in war no man, however naturally temperate, exceeded him in sobriety.

When the power that Lamia had over him was evident to every one, Demetrius came after some expedition or other to salute his father, and kissed him so cordially, that he laughed and said; "Surely, my son, you think you are kissing Lamia." Once when he had been spending many days with his friends over the bottle, he excused himself on his return to court, by saying, "That he had been kept at home by a defluxion." "So I heard," said Antigonus; "but whether was the defluxion from Thasos, or from

“Chios<sup>18</sup>?” At another time, having learnt that he was indisposed, he went to see him; and, at the door, met one of his favourites going out. He entered however, and sitting down by him, took hold of his hand. Demetrius said, “his fever had now left him. “I know it,” said Antigonus, “for I met it this moment at the door<sup>19</sup>.” With such mildness he treated his son’s faults, out of regard to his achievements. It is the custom of the Scythians in the midst of their carousals to strike the strings of their bows, to recal as it were their courage, when melting away in pleasure. But Demetrius one while devoted himself to pleasure, and another while to business exclusively; he never intermixed them. His military talents, therefore, did not suffer by his attentions of a gayer kind.

Nay, he seemed to display even higher abilities in his preparations for war, than in his use of them. He was not content, unless he had stores that were more than sufficient. There was something peculiarly great in the construction of his ships and engines, and he took an unwearied pleasure in the inventing of new ones. For he was ingenious in the speculative part of mechanics; and he did not, like other princes, apply his taste and knowledge of those arts to the purposes of diversion, or to pursuits of no utility, such as playing on the flute, painting, or turning. *Æropus*, king of Macedon, spent his hours of leisure in making little tables and lamps. *Attalus*<sup>20</sup>, surnamed *Philometor*<sup>21</sup>, amused himself with planting poisonous herbs; not only henbane, and helle-

<sup>18</sup> Islands in the *Ægean*, celebrated for their excellent wines.\*

<sup>19</sup> A similar observation is ascribed to *Sully*, who told his royal master (*Henry IV.*), “he had met his indisposition in green at the door.”\*

<sup>20</sup> *Plutarch* does not give due honour to *Attalus* (*III.*, king of *Pergamus*) when he mentions his employment, as unworthy of a prince. He made many experiments in natural philosophy, and wrote a *Treatise on Agriculture*. Other kings, particularly *Hiero* and *Archelaus*, did the same.

<sup>21</sup> This is a mistake in *Plutarch*. *Philometor* was another prince, who made agriculture his amusement.

bore, but hemlock, aconite, and dorycnium<sup>\*\*</sup>. These he cultivated in the royal gardens, and beside gathering them at their proper seasons, made it his business to investigate the qualities of their juices and fruit. And the kings of Parthia took a pride in forging and sharpening heads for arrows.

But the mechanics of Demetrius were of a princely kind; there was always something great in the fabric. Together with a spirit of curiosity and the love of arts, there appeared in all his works a grandeur of design, and a dignity of invention, so that they were worthy not only of the genius and the wealth, but also of the hand of a king. His friends were astonished at their magnificence, and his very enemies were pleased with their beauty. Neither is this description of him at all exaggerated. His enemies used to stand on the shore, looking with admiration upon his galleys of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars, as they sailed along; and his engines called 'helepoles' [town-takers] were a pleasing spectacle to the very towns, which he besieged. This is evident from facts. Lysimachus, who of all the princes of his time was his bitterest enemy, when he came to compel him to raise the siege of Soli in Cilicia, requested that he would show him his engines of war, and his manner of navigating the galleys: and he was so struck with the sight, that he immediately retired. And the Rhodians, after they had endured a long siege and at last compromised the affair, entreated him to leave some of his engines, as monuments both of his power and of their valour.

His war with the Rhodians was occasioned by their alliance with Ptolemy; and, in the course of it, he brought the largest of his helepoles up to their walls. It's base was square, each of it's sides at the bottom was forty-eight cubits wide, and it's height was sixty-six cubits. The sides of the several divisions gradual-

<sup>\*\*</sup> 'Dorycnium' was a common poisonous plant, so called from the points of spears being tinged with it's juices. (Plin. H. N. xxi. 31.)

ly lessened, so that the top was much narrower than the bottom. The inside was divided into several stories or rooms, one above another. The front, which was turned toward the enemy, had a window in each story, through which missile weapons of various kinds were thrown; for it was filled with men, who practised every method of fighting. It neither shook nor varied the least in it's motion, but rolled on regularly in a steady upright position. And, as it moved with a horrible noise, it at once pleased and terrified the spectators<sup>23</sup>.

He had two coats of mail brought from Cyprus<sup>24</sup>, for his use in this war, each of which weighed forty minæ. Zoilus the maker, to show the excellence of their temper, ordered a dart to be shot at one of them from an engine, at the distance of twenty-six paces; and it stood so firm, that there remained no mark upon it, than what might be made with a stilus used in writing. This he took for himself, and gave the other to Alcimus the Epirot, a man of the greatest bravery and strength of any in his army. The Epirot's whole suit of armour weighed two talents, whereas that of others did not exceed one. This warrior fell in the siege of Rhodes, in an action near the theatre.

As the Rhodians defended themselves with much spirit, Demetrius was not able to effect any thing considerable. There was one thing in their conduct, which he particularly resented, and which indeed induced him to persist in the siege. They had taken the vessel in which were letters from his wife Phila, together with some robes and pieces of tapestry, and in that state they sent it to Ptolemy. In this they

<sup>23</sup> Diodorus Siculus (xx. 92.) says, this machine had nine stories; that it rolled on four large wheels, each of them sixteen feet high, and was worked by three thousand four hundred men.

<sup>24</sup> Pliny informs us, that the Cyprian adamant was impregnable. Cyprus was famous for this metal, of which armour was made even in the time of the Trojan war; and Agamemnon had a cuirass sent him from Cinyras, king of Cyprus. (Hom. Il. xi. 20, &c.)

were far from imitating the courtesy of the Athenians, who when they were at war with Philip, happening to raze his courtiers, read all the other letters, but sent him that of Olympias with the seal entire.

But Demetrius, incensed as he was, did not retaliate upon the Rhodians, though he presently had an opportunity. Protogenes of Caunus was at that time painting for them the history of Ialysus<sup>25</sup>, and had almost finished it, when Demetrius seized it in one of the suburbs. The Rhodians sent a herald to entreat him to spare the work, and not suffer it to be destroyed. Upon which he said, "He would rather

<sup>25</sup> We have not met with the particular subject of this celebrated painting. Ialysus was one of the fabulous heroes, the son of Ochimus and grandson of Apollo; and there is a town in Rhodes called Ialysus, which probably from him had it's name. It was in this picture (of which the first view produced such an effect upon Apelles, *Æl. V. H. xii. 41.*) that Protogenes, when he had long laboured in vain to paint the foam of a dog, happily hit it off, by throwing the brush in anger at the dog's mouth. *Ælian*, as well as *Plutarch*, says that he was 'seven years in finishing it.' *Pliny* informs us, that he gave it four coats of colours, in order that when one was effaced by time, another might supply it's place †. He adds, that while Protogenes was at work, he was visited by Demetrius; and when the latter asked him, how he could prosecute his work with so much calmness amidst the rage of war, he replied, that "Though Demetrius was at war with Rhodes, he did not suppose he was at war with the arts." (*H. N. xxxv. 10.*) He lived on lupines during the time employed upon this painting, that his judgement might not be clouded by luxurious diet ‡. The picture was brought to Rome by *Cassius*, and placed in the Temple of Peace, where it remained till *Commodus'* time; when it was consumed, together with the temple, by fire.

† Whether however there were four coats of colours, or four separate pictures successively painted upon each other, is a subject of controversy among modern critics; *M. le Comte de Caylus* affirming the first (*Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, xix. 262.*), and *M. l'abbé Brotier* the latter. (*Ib. xlv. 463, &c.*) The learned abbé expresses his surprise at the story of the lupines; but the great *Dominichino*, in labouring at his celebrated picture of the Communion of *St. Jerom*, is said to have adopted the same regimen with not inferior success.\*

‡ 'Abstinence sharpening my invention, I performed the finest things, and of the most admirable invention, that I ever did in my life.' (*Life of Benvenuto Cellini by himself, translated by Nugent, l. 231.*)

“ burn his father’s pictures, than hurt so laborious  
 “ a piece of art.” For Protogenes is stated to have  
 spent seven years in finishing it. Apelles, as he tells  
 us, when he first saw it, was so much astonished that  
 he could not speak ; and at last, upon recovering  
 himself, he exclaimed; “ A master-piece of labour !  
 “ A wonderful performance ! But it wants those  
 “ graces, which raise the fame of my paintings to the  
 “ skies.” This piece was afterward carried to Rome,  
 and being added to the number of those there col-  
 lected, perished by fire.

The Rhodians now began to grow weary of the  
 war. Demetrius likewise only wished for a pretence  
 to put an end to it, and he found one. The Athe-  
 nians<sup>26</sup> interposed and reconciled them upon this  
 condition, that the Rhodians should assist Antigonus  
 and Demetrius, as allies, in all their wars except  
 those with Ptolemy.

At the same time, the Athenians called him to their  
 succour against Cassander, who was besieging their  
 city. In consequence of which, he sailed thither  
 with a fleet of three hundred and thirty ships, and a  
 numerous body of land forces. With these he not  
 only drove Cassander out of Attica, but followed him  
 to Thermopylæ, and entirely defeated him there.  
 Heraclea then voluntarily submitted, and he received  
 into his army six thousand Macedonians, who came  
 over to him. On his return, he restored liberty to  
 the Greeks within the straits of Thermopylæ, admit-  
 ted the Bœotians into his alliance, and made himself  
 master of Cenchrea. He likewise reduced Phyle  
 and Panactus, the bulwarks of Attica, which had been  
 garrisoned by Cassander, and replaced them in the  
 hands of the Athenians. The Athenians, though  
 they had before lavished honours upon him in the  
 most extravagant manner, yet contrived upon this  
 occasion to appear new in their flattery. They gave

<sup>26</sup> Or Ætolians. (Diod. Sic. xx. 99.)\*



orders, that he should lodge in the back-part of the Parthenon<sup>27</sup>; which accordingly he did, and Minerva was said to have received him as her guest—a guest, not very fit to come under her roof, or suitable to her virgin purity.

In one of their expeditions, his brother Philip took up his quarters in a house, where three young women resided. His father Antigonus,\* without saying any thing to Philip, called the quarter-master, and said to him in his presence, “Why do not you remove my son out of this lodging, where he is so much straitened for room?” And Demetrius, who ought to have revered Minerva, if on no other account, yet as his eldest sister (for he so affected to call her), behaved in such a manner to all persons of both sexes, and so polluted the citadel with his debaucheries, that it appeared comparatively kept sacred, when he confined himself to the prostitutes Chrysis, Lamia, Demo, and Anticyra.

Some things, out of regard to the character of the city of Athens, we choose to omit; but the virtue and chastity of Democles ought not to be left under the veil of silence. Democles was very young; and his beauty was no secret to Demetrius. His surname indeed unhappily declared it, for he was called Democles ‘the Handsome.’ Demetrius, through his emissaries, left nothing unattempted to gain him by great offers, or to intimidate him by threats; but neither could prevail. He left the wrestling-ring and all public exercises, and made use only of a private bath. Demetrius watched his opportunity, and surprised him there alone. The boy seeing nobody near to assist him, and perceiving the impossibility of resisting with any effect, took off the cover of the cauldron, and jumped into the boiling water. It is true, he came to an unworthy end; but his sentiments were worthy of his country, and of his personal beauty.

<sup>27</sup> The Temple of the Virgin Minerva.\*

Very different were those of Cleænetus, the son of Cleomedon. That youth, having procured for his father the remission of a fine of fifty talents, brought letters from Demetrius to the people, signifying his pleasure in that respect; by which he not only dishonoured himself, but caused great trouble to the city. The people took off the fine, but at the same time decreed, that no citizen should for the future bring any letter from Demetrius. Yet when they found that Demetrius was disobliged at it, and expressed his resentment in strong terms, they not only repealed the act, but punished the persons who proposed and supported it, some with death and some with banishment. They likewise passed a new edict, importing, "That the people of Athens had resolved, whatsoever Demetrius might command should be accounted holy in respect of the gods, and just in respect of men." Some person of better principle upon this occasion happening to say, that Stratocles was mad in proposing such decrees, Demochares the Leuconian<sup>28</sup> answered, "He would be mad if he were not mad." Stratocles found his advantage in his servility; and for this saying Demochares was prosecuted, and banished the city. To such meannesses were the Athenians reduced, even after the garrison seemed to be removed out of their city, and they pretended to be a free people!

Demetrius subsequently passed into Peloponnesus, where he met with no resistance, for all his enemies fled before him, or surrendered their cities. He therefore reduced with ease that part of the country called Acte<sup>29</sup>, and the whole of Arcadia, except Mantinea. Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth he set free from their garrisons, by giving the commanding officers a hundred talents to evacuate them. About

<sup>28</sup> The nephew of Demosthenes. See his Life, p. 288., not. (86.) The figure, here used, is similar to the celebrated *Perussem, n̄ perussem*.\*

<sup>29</sup> The eastern part of the coast of Peloponnesus. The name was common to several maritime districts.\*

that time the feasts of Juno took place at Argos, and Demetrius presided in the games and other exhibitions. During these solemnities he married Deïdamia, the daughter of Æacides king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus. He told the Sicyonians, that they lived out of their city; and showing them a more advantageous situation, persuaded them to place it, where it now stands: and along with it's situation he likewise changed it's name, calling it 'Demetrias' instead of Sicyon.

The states being assembled at the Isthmus, and a prodigious number of people attending, he was proclaimed general of Greece, as Philip and Alexander had been before; and, in the elation of power and success, he regarded himself as a much greater man. Alexander had robbed no other prince of his title, neither did he ever declare himself 'King of Kings,' though he raised many both to the stile and authority of royalty. But Demetrius thought no man worthy of that title, except his father and himself. He even mocked and ridiculed those, who made use of it to others; and was delighted to hear the sycophants at his table drinking king Demetrius, Seleucus commander of the elephants, Ptolemy admiral, Lysimachus treasurer, and Agathocles (the Sicilian) governor of the islands<sup>30</sup>. The rest of them, however, only laughed at such extravagant instances of vanity; but Lysimachus was angry, that Demetrius should reckon him no better than an eunuch: for the princes of the east had generally eunuchs for their treasurers. Lysimachus, indeed, was his most violent enemy; and now taking an opportunity of disparaging him on account of his passion for Lania, he said, "This was the first time, that he had seen a whore act in a tragedy<sup>31</sup>." Demetrius retorted, "My whore is an honestest woman than his Penelope."

<sup>30</sup> This passage is transcribed *verbatim* from Phylarchus, as preserved by Athenæus, vi. 17.\*

<sup>31</sup> The modern stage needs not to be put to the blush by this assertion in favour of the ancient: the reason of it was, that there

When he was preparing to return to Athens, he wrote to the republic, that on his arrival he intended to be initiated, and to be immediately admitted not only to the Less Mysteries, but even to those called Intuitive. This was unlawful and unprecedented: for the Less Mysteries were celebrated in Anthesterion, and the Greater in Boëdromion; and none were admitted to the Intuitive, till a year at least after they had attended the latter<sup>32</sup>. When the letters were read, Pythodorus the torch-bearer was the only person, who ventured to oppose the demand; but his opposition was wholly ineffectual. Stratocles procured a decree, that the month of Munychion should be called and reputed the month of Anthesterion, in order to give Demetrius an opportunity for his first initiation, which was to be performed in the ward of Agra. After which, Munychion was again changed into Boëdromion. By these means Demetrius was admitted to the Greater Mysteries, and to immediate intuition. Hence those strokes of satire upon Stratocles, from the poet Philippides;

He to one crowded month contracts the year,

and, with respect to Demetrius' being lodged in the Parthenon,

As a vile inn the temple he pollutes,  
And with the Virgin blends his prostitutes.

But, among the many abuses and enormities committed in their city, no one seems to have given the

were no women actors. Men, in female dresses, performed their parts.

<sup>32</sup> Plutarch in this place seems to make a difference between the Intuitive and the Greater Mysteries, though they are commonly understood to be the same. Casaubon and Meursius think the text corrupt; but the manner, in which they would restore it, does not render it less perplexed. (L.) After the first initiation, the candidates were called *Mystæ*, and were only admitted as far as the vestibule; after the second, they received the privilege of seeing every thing, and were denominated *Epoptæ*.\*

Athenians greater uneasiness than the following: He ordered them to raise two hundred and fifty talents in a very short time, and the sum was exacted with the utmost rigour. When the money was produced, and he saw it altogether, he directed it to be given to Lamia and his other mistresses to buy soap. Thus the disgrace hurt them more than the loss, and the application more than the impost. Some writers, however affirm, that he behaved in this manner, not to the Athenians, but to the people of Thessaly. Beside this disagreeable tax, Lamia extorted money from many persons on her own authority, to enable her to provide an entertainment for the king. And the expense of that supper was so remarkable, that Lynceus the Samian<sup>33</sup> even gave a description of it. For the same reason, a comic poet of those times, with equal wit and truth, called Lamia 'an Helepolis.' And Demochares the Solian called Demetrius 'Muthos' [Fable], because he too had his Lamia<sup>34</sup>.

The great interest which Lamia had with Demetrius, in consequence of his passion for her, excited a spirit of envy and dislike to her, not only in the breasts of his wives, but of his friends. Demetrius having sent ambassadors to Lysimachus upon some occasion or other, that prince amused himself one day with showing them the deep wounds, which he had received from a lion's claws in his arms and thighs; and gave them an account of his having been shut up with that wild beast by Alexander the Great, and his battle with it<sup>35</sup>. Upon which they laughed,

<sup>33</sup> A grammarian, pupil to Theophrastus, and contemporary with Alexander.\*

<sup>34</sup> Fable mentions a queen of Lybia, who out of rage for the loss of her own children, ordered those of other women to be brought to her, and devoured them: whence she was called Lamia, from the Phœnician word *lahama*, 'to devour.' Upon this account, Diodorus Siculus (xx. 41.) informs us, 'Lamia' became a bugbear to children.

<sup>35</sup> Justin (xv. 3.) and Pausanias (i. 9.) mention this; but Q. Curtius, and probably with reason, doubts the truth of the whole story (viii. 1.)

and said ; “ The king our master, too, bears on his neck the marks of a dreadful wild beast, called a “ Lamia.” It was strange, indeed, that he should at first have objected so strongly to the disparity of years between himself and Phila, and should afterward fall into such a lasting captivity to Lamia, though she had passed her prime at their first acquaintance. One evening when Lamia had been playing on the flute at supper, Demetrius asked Demo, surnamed Mania<sup>30</sup>, what she thought of her. “ I think her an old woman, sir,” replied Demo. At another time, when there was an extraordinary dessert on the table, he said to her, “ You see what fine things Lamia sends me :” “ My mother will send you finer,” answered Demo, “ if you will but sleep with her.”

We shall mention only one story more of Lamia, which relates to her censure of the celebrated judgement of Bocchoris. There was a young man in Egypt extremely desirous of the favours of a courtesan, named Thonis, but she set too high a price upon them. He dreamed afterward, that he enjoyed her, and his desire was satisfied. Thonis, upon this, commenced an action against him for the money ; and Bocchoris having heard both parties, ordered the man to count the gold which she demanded into a bason, and shake it about before her, that she might enjoy the sight of it. “ For fancy,” said he, “ is no more than the shadow of truth.” Lamia did not think this a just sentence ; “ because the woman’s desire of the gold was not removed by the sight of it, whereas her lover’s passion had been cured by his dream.

The change in the fortunes, and conduct, of the subjects of our narrative now turns the comic scene into tragedy. All the other kings having united their forces against Antigonus, Demetrius left Greece

in order to join him, and was greatly animated to find his father preparing for war with a spirit above his years. Had Antigonus abated a little of his pretensions, and restraining his ambition of governing the world, he might have retained the pre-eminence among the successors of Alexander, not only for himself, but for his son after him. But being naturally arrogant and imperious, and not less insolent in his expressions than in his actions, he exasperated many young and powerful princes. He even boasted, that "he could break the present league, " and disperse the united armies, with as much ease " as a boy does a flock of birds by throwing a stone, " or making a slight noise."

His army amounted to more than seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The infantry of the enemy consisted of sixty-four thousand men, and their cavalry of ten thousand five hundred; they had four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty armed chariots. When the two armies were in sight, a visible change took place in Antigonus' mind, but rather with respect to his hopes than his resolution. In other engagements his spirits used to be high; his port lofty, his voice loud, and his expressions vaunting; inso-much, that he would sometimes in the heat of the action let fall some jocular expression, to show his unconcern and his contempt of the adversary. But, at this time, he was observed for the most part to be thoughtful and silent; and one day he presented his son to the army, and recommended him as his successor. What appeared still more extraordinary was, that he took him aside into his tent, and discoursed with him there; for he had never before been accustomed to communicate his intentions to him in private, or to consult him in the least, but to rely entirely upon his own judgement, and to issue orders for the execution of his purposes. It is even reported that Demetrius, in his boyhood, once

asked him when they should decamp ; and that he angrily replied, " Are you afraid, that you alone " shall not hear the trumpet?"

Upon this occasion, it is true, their spirits were depressed by ill omens. Demetrius dreamed, that Alexander came to him in a magnificent suit of armour, and inquired of him what was to be the word in the ensuing battle. Demetrius answered, ' Jupiter and Victory ;' upon which Alexander said, " I go then to your adversaries, for they are ready " to receive me." When the army was arranged in order of battle, Antigonus stumbled as he went out of his tent, and falling on his face received a considerable hurt. After he had recovered himself, he stretched out his hands toward heaven, and prayed that he might either conquer, or die before he was sensible that the day was lost.

When the battle began, Demetrius at the head of his best cavalry fell upon Antiochus the son of Seleucus, and fought with so much bravery that he put the enemy to flight ; but, by a vain and unseasonable ambition to press the pursuit, he lost the victory. For he advanced so far that he could not re-join his infantry, the enemy's elephants having occupied the intermediate space. Seleucus now, seeing his adversary's foot deprived of their horse, instead of attacking, rode round them, as if he were every moment about to charge ; intending by this manœuvre both to terrify them, and to give them an opportunity of changing sides. The event answered his expectation. Great part separated from the main body, and voluntarily came over to him ; the rest were put to the rout. When vast numbers were bearing down upon Antigonus, one of those that were about him said, " They are advancing " against you, sir." He answered, " What other " object can they have? But Demetrius will come " to my assistance." In this hope he continued to the last, still looking about for his son till he fell under a shower of darts. His servants, his very



friends, forsook him; and only Thorax of Larissa remained by the dead body.

The battle being decided, the victorious kings dismembered the dominions of Antigonus and Demetrius like some great body, of which each took a limb; thus adding to their own dominions the provinces, which those two princes had previously possessed. Demetrius fled with five thousand foot, and four thousand horse. And as he reached Ephesus in a short time, and was in want of money, it was expected that he would have pillaged the temple. He not only spared it himself however, but fearing that his soldiers might be tempted to violate it, he immediately left the place, and embarked for Greece. His principal dependence was upon the Athenians, for with them he had left his ships, his money, and his wife Deidamia; and, in this distress, he thought he could have no safer asylum than their affection. He, therefore, pursued his voyage with all possible expedition; but ambassadors from Athens met him near the Cyclades, and entreated him not to think of going thither, because the people had declared by an edict, that they would receive no king into their city. As for Deidamia, they had conducted her to Megara with a proper retinue, and all the respect due to her rank. This so enraged Demetrius, that he was no longer master of himself; though he had hitherto borne his misfortunes with sufficient calmness, and betrayed no mean or ungenerous sentiment in the sad change of his affairs. But to be thus unexpectedly deceived by the Athenians, to find by facts that their affection, so strong in appearance, was only false and counterfeit, cut him to the heart. Excessive honours, indeed, are a very indifferent proof of the regard of the people for kings and princes. For all the value of those honours rests in their being freely given: and of that there can be no certainty, because the givers may be under the influence of fear, and fear and love often produce the same public declarations. For the same

reason wise princes will not regard statues<sup>38</sup>, pictures, or divine honours: but rather consider their own actions and behaviour, and thence infer either that those honours are real, or the mere dictates of necessity. Nothing more frequently happens, than that the people hate their sovereign the most, at the very time that he is receiving the most immoderate honours, the tribute of unwilling minds.

Demetrius, though he severely felt this ill-treatment, was not in a condition to revenge it; he therefore by his envoys moderately expostulated with the Athenians, and only desired them to send him his galleys, among which there was one of thirteen banks of oars. With these he steered for the Isthmus, but found his affairs there in a very bad situation. The cities had expelled his garrisons, and were all revolting to his enemies. Upon this, leaving Pyrrhus in Greece, he sailed to the Chersonese, and by his ravages there distressed Lysimachus, as well as enriched and secured the fidelity of his own forces, which now began to gather strength and improve into a respectable army. The other kings paid no regard to Lysimachus; who, at the same time that he was much more formidable in his power than Demetrius, was not in the least more moderate in his conduct.

Soon after this, Seleucus sent proposals of marriage to Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius by Phila. He had, indeed, already a son named Antiochus by Apama, a Persian lady; but he thought that his dominions were sufficient for more heirs, and that he stood in need of this new alliance, because he saw Lysimachus marrying one of Ptolemy's daughters himself, and taking the other for his son Agathocles.

A connexion with Seleucus was a happy and an unexpected turn of fortune for Demetrius. He

<sup>38</sup> With regard to the uncertainty of the inferences, founded upon such doubtful marks of veneration, see Juv. x. 58—64.\*

took his daughter therefore, and sailed with his whole fleet to Syria. In the course of his voyage he was several times under a necessity of making land, and he touched in particular upon the coast of Cilicia, which had been given to Plistarchus the brother of Cassander as his share, after Antigonus' defeat. Plistarchus, thinking himself injured by the descent which Demetrius made upon his country, went immediately to Cassander to complain of Seleucus, as having reconciled himself to the common enemy without the concurrence of the other kings. Demetrius, being informed of his departure, left the sea, and marched up to Quinda<sup>39</sup>; where finding twelve hundred talents, the remains of his father's treasures, he carried them off, embarked again without interruption, and instantly set sail, his wife Phila having joined him by the way.

Seleucus met him at Orossus<sup>40</sup>. Their interview was conducted in a sincere and princely manner, without any marks of design or suspicion. Seleucus invited Demetrius first to his pavilion; after which, Demetrius entertained him in his galley of thirteen banks of oars. They conversed at their ease, and passed the time together without guards or arms; till Seleucus took Stratonice, and carried her with great pomp to Antioch.

Demetrius seized the province of Cilicia, and sent Phila to her brother Cassander, to answer the accusations brought against him by Plistarchus. In the mean time, Deïdamia joined him from Greece; but she had not been long with him, before she sickened and died: and Demetrius having through Seleucus' mediation accommodated matters with Ptolemy, it was agreed that he should marry Ptolemais, the daughter of that prince.

Hitherto Seleucus had behaved with honour and

<sup>39</sup> A city in Cilicia \*

<sup>40</sup> Or Rossus, according to Collarius and Lubinus, a maritime city in Syria, between Issus and Seleucia.

propriety ; but afterward he demanded, that Demetrius should surrender Cilicia to him for a sum of money, and upon his refusal angrily insisted on having Tyre and Sidon. This behaviour appeared unjustifiable and cruel. Already the lord of Asia from the Indies to the Syrian sea, how sordid was it in him to quarrel for two cities with a prince who was his father-in-law, and who was labouring under so painful a reverse of fortune ! A strong proof of the truth of Plato's maxim, that ' the man, who would be truly happy, should study not to enlarge his estate but to contract his desires ! ' For he, who does not restrain his avarice, must ever be poor.

Demetrius however, far from being intimidated, said, " Though I had lost a thousand battles as great as that of Ipsus, nothing should induce me to purchase the alliance of Seleucus ; " and, upon this principle he garrisoned these cities in the strongest manner. About this time receiving intelligence that Athens was split into factions, and that Lachares taking advantage of these divisions had seized the government, he thought he should be able to get possession of the city with ease, if he appeared suddenly before it. Accordingly, he set out with a considerable fleet, and crossed the sea without danger ; but on the coast of Attica he met with a storm, in which he lost many ships and vast numbers of his men. He escaped however himself, and began hostilities against Athens, though with no great vigour. As his operations answered no end, he despatched his lieutenants to collect another fleet, and in the mean time he passed into Peloponnesus, and laid siege to Messene. In one of the assaults, he incurred extreme danger ; for a dart from an engine pierced his jaw, and entered his mouth. But he recovered, and reduced some cities that had revolted. After this, he again invaded Attica, took Eleusis and Rhamnus, and ravaged the country. Happening to capture a ship loaded with

wheat, which was bound for Athens, he hanged both the merchant and the pilot. This so alarmed other merchants, that they forbore attempting any thing of that kind, so that a famine ensued ; and, together with the want of bread-corn, the people were in want of every thing else. A medimnus of salt was sold for forty drachmas, and a modius <sup>11</sup> of wheat for three hundred. A fleet of a hundred and fifty vessels which Ptolemy sent to their relief, appeared before Ægina ; but the encouragement it afforded them was of short continuance. A great reinforcement of ships came to Demetrius from Peloponnesus and Cyprus, so that he had in all not fewer than three hundred. Ptolemy's fleet, therefore, weighed anchor and steered off. The tyrant Lachares at the same time privately made his escape, and abandoned the city.

The Athenians, though they had passed a decree that no man under pain of death should mention peace or reconciliation with Demetrius, now opened the gates nearest him, and sent ambassadors to his camp. Not that they expected any favour from him, but they were compelled to this measure by the extremity of famine. In the course of it many dreadful events occurred, and among the rest the following : A father and his son, it is said, were sitting in the same room in the last state of despair ; when, a dead mouse happening to fall from the roof of the house, they both started up and fought for it. Epicurus the philosopher, we are told, supported his friends and disciples at that time with beans, which he shared with them, and counted out to them daily.

In this miserable condition was the city, when Demetrius entered it. He ordered all the Athenians to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with his troops ; and having planted his

<sup>11</sup> See the Table of Weights and Measures prefixed to the first Volume.

guards on each side the stage, he came down through the passage by which the actors make their entrance. The fears of the people increased, on his appearance, but they were entirely dissipated when he began to speak. For neither was the accent of his voice loud, nor his language severe. He complained of them in soft and easy terms, and taking them again into favour, made them a present of a hundred thousand medimni of wheat, and re-established such an administration as they most approved.

The orator Dromoclides observed the variety of acclamations among the people, and that in the joy of their hearts they endeavoured to outdo the encomiums of those who spoke from the Rostrum. He therefore proposed a decree, that the Piræus and the fort of Munychia should be delivered up to king Demetrius. After this bill was passed, Demetrius on his own authority placed a garrison in the Musæum<sup>42</sup>; lest, if there should be a second defection among the people, it might detain him from other enterprises.

The Athenians thus reduced, Demetrius immediately formed a design against Lacedæmon. King Archidamus met him at Mantinea, where Demetrius defeated him in a pitched battle; and, after putting him to flight, entered Laconia. Another action took place almost in sight of Sparta, in which he killed two hundred of the enemy, and made five hundred prisoners: so that he seemed almost master of a town, which had hitherto escaped the hands of a conqueror. But surely fortune never displayed such sudden and extraordinary vicissitudes, in the life of any other prince: never in any other instance did she so often change from low to high, from a glorious to an abject condition, or again repair the ruins which she had made. Hence he is said, in his

<sup>42</sup> This, according to Pausan. (i. 25.), was a hill, upon which Musæus used to recite his compositions, and where he was afterward buried.\*

greatest adversity, to have addressed her in the words of *Æschylus* :

Thou gavest me life, and now thy parching hand  
Consumes me.

When his affairs seemed to be in so promising a train for power and empire, intelligence was brought, that *Lysimachus* in the first place had taken the cities which he had in Asia, that *Ptolemy* had dispossessed him of the whole of *Cyprus* except the city of *Salamis*, in which he had left his children and his mother, and that this town was now actually in a state of siege. Fortune however, like the woman in *Archilochus*,

Whose right hand offered water, while the left  
Bore hostile fire——

though by these alarming tidings she drew him from *Lacedæmon*, speedily opened to him a new scene of light and hope. To this end she availed herself of the following circumstances ;

After the death of *Cassander*, his eldest son *Philip* had but a short reign over the *Macedonians*, for he died soon after his father. The two remaining brothers were perpetually at variance. One of them named *Antipater*, having killed his mother *Thessalonica*, the other (*Alexander*) called in to his assistance the Greek princes, *Pyrrhus* from *Epirus* and *Demetrius* from *Peloponnesus*. *Pyrrhus* arrived first, and seized a considerable part of *Macedon*, which he kept for his reward, and thus became a formidable neighbour to *Alexander*. *Demetrius* no sooner received the letters, than he marched his forces thither likewise, and excited still greater alarm in the young prince by his great name and dignity. He met him however at *Dium*<sup>43</sup>, and received him in

<sup>43</sup> A *Macedonian* city, below *Pydna*, on the coast of the *Thermaic* gulf.

the most respectful manner, but told him at the same time that his affairs did not now require his presence. Hence mutual jealousies arose; and Demetrius, as he was going to sup with Alexander upon his invitation, was informed that there was a design against his life, which was to be carried into execution in the midst of the entertainment. Demetrius, not in the least disconcerted, only slackened his pace, and gave orders to his generals to keep the troops under arms: after which he took his guards and the officers of his household, who were much more numerous than those of Alexander, and commanded them to enter the banqueting-room with him, and to remain there till he rose from table. Alexander's people, intimidated by this train, durst not attack Demetrius; and he on his part, pretending that he was not disposed to drink that evening, presently withdrew. Next day he prepared to decamp, and alleging that he was called off by some new emergency, desired Alexander to excuse him if he left him soon this time; assuring him, that at some ensuing opportunity he would make a longer stay. Alexander, rejoicing that he was going away voluntarily, and without any hostile intentions, accompanied him as far as Thessaly. Upon reaching Larissa, they both renewed their invitations, but both with treachery in their hearts. In consequence of these polite manœuvres, Alexander fell into Demetrius' snare. He would not go with a guard, lest he should teach the other to do the same. He therefore suffered what he had intended to inflict upon his enemy, and had only deferred for the surer and more convenient execution. He went to sup with Demetrius; and, as his host rose up in the midst of the feast, Alexander was terrified and rose up with him. Demetrius, when he was at the door, said simply to his guards, "Kill the man that follows me;" and went out; upon which they cut Alexander in pieces, and his friends who attempted to assist him. One of these is re-



ported to have remarked, as he was dying, "Demetrius is but one day before-hand with us."

The night was, as might be expected, a night of terror and confusion. In the morning, the Macedonians were greatly disturbed with the apprehension, that Demetrius would fall upon them with all his forces; but when, instead of proceeding hostilely against them, he sent a message desiring to speak with them and vindicate what was done, they recovered their spirits, and resolved to receive him with civility. Upon his arrival, he found it unnecessary to make long speeches. They hated Antipater for the murder of his mother; and as they had no better prince at hand, they declared Demetrius king, and conducted him into Macedon. The Macedonians, who were at home, proved not disinclined to the change. For they still remembered with horror Cassander's base behaviour to Alexander the Great; and if they had any regard left for the moderation of old Antipater, it turned wholly in favour of Demetrius, who had married his daughter Phila, and had a son by her to succeed him in the throne; a youth already grown up, and at this very time bearing arms under his father.

Immediately after this glorious change of fortune, Demetrius received intelligence that Ptolemy had set his wife and children at liberty, and dismissed them with presents and other tokens of honour. He was informed likewise that his daughter, who had been married to Seleucus, was now wife to Antiochus the son of that prince, and declared queen of the barbarous nations in Upper Asia.

Antiochus was violently enamoured of the young Stratonice, though she had had a son by his father. His situation was extremely unhappy. He had made the strongest efforts to conquer his passion, but they were of no avail. At last, considering that his de-

\* Some historians suppose, that he even poisoned him; but that either he or his father Antipater did, is refuted by Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, IV. 352.\*

sires were of the most extravagant kind, that there was no prospect of satisfying them, and that the succour of reason entirely failed, he resolved in his despair to rid himself of life, and bring it gradually to a period, by neglecting all care of his person and abstaining from food. For this purpose he pretended sickness. His physician Erasistratus easily discovered, that his distemper was love; but it was less easy to conjecture who was the object. In order to discover this, he spent whole days in his chamber; and whenever any beautiful person of either sex entered it, watched with the utmost attention not only his looks, but every part and motion of the body, which most perfectly sympathises with the passions of the soul. On the entrance of all others, he remained wholly unaffected; but when Stratonice came in, as she often did either alone or with Seleucus, he exhibited all the symptoms described by Sappho, the faltering voice, the burning blush, the languid eye<sup>45</sup>, the sudden sweat, the tumultuous pulse, and at length, the passion overcoming his spirits, a deliquium and mortal paleness.

From these tokens, Erasistratus concluded that the prince was in love with Stratonice, and perceived that he intended to carry the secret with him to the grave. He saw the difficulty of breaking the matter to Seleucus; yet depending upon the affection which the king had for his son, he ventured one day to tell him, "That the young man's disorder was love, an impracticable, incurable love." The king, quite astonished, said "How! incurable love!" "Positively so," answered Erasistratus, "for he is in love with my wife." "What! Erasistratus," said the king, "would you, who are my friend, refuse

<sup>45</sup> Οψην ὑποδεδειγ is a corruption. It ought to be read οψην ὑποδεδειγ, the 'faint, languid, or clouded eye.' (L.)

The ode of Sappho, here referred to, is preserved by Longinus, sect. 10, is beautifully translated by Catull. 49., and by our own A. Phillips, and is imitated by Boileau. See Spect. IV. 229., where this story is quoted by Addison, as illustrative of the poem in question.\*

“to give up your wife to my son, when you see us  
 “in danger of losing our only hope?” “Nay,  
 “would you do such a thing,” demanded the phy-  
 sician, “though you are his father, if he were in  
 “love with Stratonice?” “O my friend,” replied  
 Seleucus, “how happy should I be, if either God or  
 “man could transfer his affections thither! I would  
 “give up my kingdom, so I could but keep Antio-  
 “chus.” He pronounced these words with so much  
 emotion and such a profusion of tears, that Erasistratus took him by the hand, and said, “Then there  
 “is no need of Erasistratus. You, Sir, who are a  
 “father, a husband, and a king, will be the best  
 “physician too for your family.”

Upon this, Seleucus summoned the people to meet in full assembly, and told them, “It was his  
 “will and pleasure that Antiochus should inter-  
 “marry with Stratonice, and that they should be  
 “declared king and queen of the Upper Provinces.  
 “He believed,” he said, “that Antiochus, who  
 “was the most obedient son, would not oppose his  
 “desire; and if the princess should decline the  
 “marriage as an unprecedented thing, he hoped his  
 “friends would persuade her to think, that what  
 “was agreeable to the king and advantageous to  
 “the kingdom was both just and honourable.” Such  
 is said to have been the cause of the marriage between Antiochus and Stratonice.

Demetrius was now master of Macedon and Thessaly; and as he possessed great part of Peloponnesus likewise, and the cities of Megara and Athens on the other side of the Isthmus, he was desirous of reducing the Boeotians, and threatened them with hostilities. At first, they proposed to come to an accommodation with him on reasonable conditions; but Cleonymus the Spartan having in the mean time thrown himself into Thebes with his army, they were so much elated, that on the instigation of Pisis the Thespian, a leading man among them, they broke off the treaty. Demetrius then

drew up his machines to the walls, and laid siege to Thebes; upon which Cleonymus, apprehending the consequence, stole out; and the Thebans were so much intimidated, that they immediately surrendered. Demetrius placed garrisons in their cities, exacted large contributions, and left Hieronymus the historian governor of Bœotia. He appeared, however, to make a merciful use of his victory, particularly in the case of Pisis. For though he took him prisoner, instead of offering him any injury, he treated him with the utmost civility and politeness, and appointed him polemarch of Thespiæ.

Not long after this, Lysimachus being taken prisoner by Dromichætes, Demetrius marched toward Thrace with all possible expedition, hoping to find it defenceless. But when he was gone, the Bœotians again revolted, and he had the mortification to hear upon the road, that Lysimachus was set at liberty. He, therefore, immediately came back in anger; and finding, on his return, that the Bœotians were already driven out of the field by his son Antigonus, he laid siege the second time to Thebes. As Pyrrhus however had over-run all Thessaly, and was advanced to Thermopylæ, Demetrius left the conduct of the siege to his son Antigonus, and marched against that warrior.

Pyrrhus immediately retiring, Demetrius placed a guard of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse in Thessaly, and then returned to the siege. His first operation was to bring up his 'helepolis:' but he proceeded in it with great labour, and by slow degrees; as, on account of it's size and weight, he could scarcely move it two furlongs in two months<sup>46</sup>.

The Bœotians however making a vigorous resistance, and Demetrius frequently obliging his men to renew the assault, rather out of a spirit of animosity than with the hope of any advantage, young Anti-

<sup>46</sup> A wonderful kind of motion this for a machine on wheels About twelve inches in an hour!

gonus was deeply concerned at seeing such numbers fall; and said, "Why, Sir, do we suffer these brave men to lose their lives without any necessity?" Demetrius, offended at this liberty, replied, "Why do you trouble yourself about that? Have you any provisions to find for the dead?" Yet to prove that he was not prodigal of the lives of his troops alone, he took his own share in the danger, and received a wound from a lance which pierced through his neck. This gave him excessive pain, but he continued the siege, till he had once more made himself master of Thebes. Upon which he entered the city with such an air of resentment and severity, that the inhabitants expected to suffer the most dreadful punishments; yet he contented himself with putting thirteen of them to death, and banishing a few more: all the rest he pardoned. Thus Thebes was taken twice within ten years after it's having been rebuilt.

The Pythian games now approached, and Demetrius on this occasion adopted a very extraordinary measure. As the Ætoliars<sup>47</sup> were in possession of the passes to Delphi, he ordered the games to be solemnised at Athens; alleging, that they could not pay their homage to Apollo in a more proper place than that, where the people considered him as their patron and progenitor.

Thence he returned to Macedon: but as he was naturally indisposed to a life of quiet and inaction, and observed besides that the Macedonians were attentive and obedient to him in time of war, though turbulent and seditious in peace, he undertook an expedition against the Ætoliars. After he had ravaged the country, he left Pantauchus there with a respectable army, and with the rest of his forces marched against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was coming to seek him; but as they happened to take different roads and missed each other, Demetrius laid waste

<sup>47</sup>Where these games, instituted in honour of Apollo after his victory over the serpent Python, were ordinarily celebrated. \*

Epirus, and Pyrrhus falling upon Pantauchus obliged him to stand on his defence. The two generals met in the action, and both gave and received wounds. Pyrrhus however defeated his adversary, killed many of his men, and made five thousand prisoners.

This battle was the principal cause of Demetrius' ruin. For Pyrrhus was less hated by the Macedonians for the mischief, which he had done them, than admired for his personal bravery. The late battle, in particular, gained him great honour: in-somuch, that many of the Macedonians said, "Of all the kings, it was in Pyrrhus alone that they saw a lively image of Alexander's valour; whereas the other princes, especially Demetrius, imitated him only like so many players, by assuming a lofty port and a majestic air."

Demetrius, indeed, always appeared like a theatrical sovereign; not only affecting a superfluity of ornament in wearing a double diadem, and a robe of purple interwoven with gold; but having his shoes likewise made of cloth of gold, with soles of fine purple. There was a robe a long time in weaving for him, of the most sumptuous magnificence. The figure of the world, and all the heavenly bodies, were to be represented upon it; but, on account of his change of fortune, it was left unfinished. Neither did any of his successors ever presume to wear it, though Macedon had subsequently many pompous kings.

This ostentation of dress offended the people, who were unaccustomed to such sights: but his luxurious and dissolute manner of life was still more obnoxious; and what displeased them most of all, was his want of affability and his difficulty of access. For he either refused to see those, who applied to him, or behaved to them in a harsh and haughty manner. Though he favoured the Athenians more than the rest of the Greeks, their ambassadors waited two years at his court for an answer. The Lacedæmonians happening to send only one ambassador to

him, he considered it as an affront, and asked in great anger, "What! have the Lacedæmonians sent but one ambassador?" "But one," laconically replied the Spartan, "to one king."

One day, when he seemed to come out in a more obliging temper, and to be something less inaccessible than usual, he was presented with several petitions, all of which he received, and placed in the skirt of his robe. The people, of course, followed him with great joy: but no sooner was he come to the bridge over the Axius, than he opened his robe, and shook them all into the river. This stung the Macedonians to the heart; when, looking for the protection of a king, they found the insolence of a tyrant. And it appeared still harder to such as had seen, or heard from those who had seen, how kind Philip's behaviour used to be upon such occasions. An old woman was one day very troublesome to him in the street, and importunately begged to be heard. He said, "He was not at leisure." "Then," cried the old woman, "you should not be a king." These words struck him: and having considered the thing a moment, he returned to his palace; where, postponing all other affairs, he gave audience for several days to every one that chose to apply to him, beginning with the old woman. Nothing, indeed, so much becomes a king as the distribution of justice. For "Mars is a tyrant," as Timotheus expresses it; but "Justice," according to Pindar, "is the rightful sovereign of the world." The things which, Homer informs us, kings receive from Jove, are not machines for taking towns, or ships with brazen beaks, but law and justice<sup>48</sup>; these they are to guard, and to cultivate: and it is not the most warlike, the most violent and sanguinary, but the most equitable of princes, whom he calls "the disciple of Jupiter"<sup>49</sup>. But Demetrius

<sup>48</sup> Il. i. 238.

<sup>49</sup> Od. xix. 178, where the poet is speaking of Minos I., the son of Jupiter and Europa, and the Chief Justice of the Shades.\*

was pleased with an appellation quite opposite to that, which is bestowed upon the king of the Gods. For Jupiter is called Polieus and Poliuchus, the ‘patron and the guardian of cities;’ whereas Demetrius is surnamed Poliorcetes, ‘the taker of cities.’ Thus, in consequence of the union of power and folly, vice is substituted in the place of virtue, and the ideas of glory and injustice are united too.

When Demetrius lay dangerously ill at Pella, he was very near losing Macedon; for Pyrrhus, by a sudden inroad, penetrated as far as Edessa. But upon his recovery, he repulsed him with ease, and afterward came to terms with him: as he was not disposed to be obstructed, by skirmishing for posts with Pyrrhus, in the pursuit of more arduous enterprises. His project was, to recover all his father’s dominions; and his preparations were suitable to the magnitude of the object. For he had raised an army of ninety-eight thousand foot and near twelve thousand horse; and he was building five hundred galleys in the ports of Piræus, Corinth, Chalcis, and Pella. He went himself to all these places, to give directions to the workmen and to assist in the construction. Every one was surprised, not only at the number, but at the greatness of his works. For no man, before his time, ever saw a galley of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars. Subsequently, indeed, Ptolemy Philopater built one of forty banks; it’s length was two hundred and eighty cubits, and it’s height to the top of the prow forty-eight cubits. Four hundred mariners belonged to it, exclusive of the rowers, who were not fewer than four thousand; and the decks and the several interstices were capable of containing nearly three thousand soldiers. This, however, was a mere matter of curiosity; for it differed very little from an immoveable building, and was calculated more for show than for use, as it could not be stirred from it’s place without great difficulty and danger. But the ships of Demetrius had their use, as well as their beauty: with all their



magnificence of construction, they were equally fit for fighting; and, though they were admirable for their size<sup>o</sup>, they were still more so for the swiftness of their motion.

Demetrius having provided such an armament for the invasion of Asia, as no man except Alexander the Great, ever had before him, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus united to oppose him. They joined likewise in an application to Pyrrhus, desiring him to fall upon Macedon, and not to consider himself as bound by the treaty with Demetrius; since that prince had entered into it, not from any regard to Pyrrhus' advantage, or in order to avoid future hostilities, but merely for his own sake, that he might be at liberty to turn his arms against whom he pleased. Pyrrhus closing with this proposal, Demetrius, while he was preparing for his voyage, found himself surrounded with war at home. For at the same instant Ptolemy came with an immense fleet to draw off Greece from it's present master, Lysimachus invaded Macedon from Thrace, and Pyrrhus entering it from a nearer quarter joined in ravaging that country. Demetrius upon this occasion left his son in Greece, and went himself to the relief of Macedon. His first operations were directed against Lysimachus; but as he was upon his march, he received an account that Pyrrhus had taken Berœa, and the news soon spreading among his Macedonians, he could do nothing in an orderly manner: the whole army resounding with lamentations and tears, and expressions of resentment and reproach against their king. They were even ready to desert, under pretence of attending to their domestic affairs, but in fact to join Lysimachus.

In this case, Demetrius thought proper to remove

<sup>o</sup> With regard to the asserted size of the ancient galleys, much scepticism exists among the moderns; but we may perhaps safely infer from the engines of Archimedes, that mechanics were in those times carried to a higher degree of excellence in many respects than at present; and therefore such things might be.\*

as far as he could from Lysimachus, and to turn his arms against Pyrrhus. Lysimachus was of their own nation, and many of them had known him in Alexander's service ; whereas Pyrrhus was an entire stranger, and therefore he thought the Macedonians would never give him the preference : but he was dreadfully mistaken in his conjecture, as he quickly discovered upon encamping near Pyrrhus. The Macedonians had always admired the distinguished valour of that prince, and had of old been accustomed to think the best man in the field the most worthy of a crown. Besides, they received daily accounts of the clemency, with which he behaved to his prisoners. They were inclined, indeed, to desert either to him or to any other, so they could but get away from Demetrius. They, therefore, began to go off privately and in small parties at first, but afterward every thing was disorder and mutiny in the camp. At last, some of them had the assurance to go to Demetrius, and bid him provide for himself by flight ; for " the Macedonians," they told him, " were tired of fighting to maintain his luxury." These expressions appeared modest, in comparison with the rude behaviour of others. Upon which, he entered his tent not like a real king, but a theatrical one ; and having exchanged his royal robe for a black one, privately withdrew. As multitudes were pillaging his tent, not only tearing it to pieces, but fighting for the plunder, Pyrrhus made his appearance ; upon which, the tumult instantly ceased, and the whole army submitted to him. Lysimachus and he then divided Macedon between them, which Demetrius had held without disturbance for seven years.

Demetrius, thus fallen from the pinnacle of power, fled to Cassandria<sup>51</sup>, where his wife Phila was then resident. Nothing could equal her sorrow upon

<sup>51</sup> Anciently called Potidæa, a city of Upper Macedon, on the borders of Thrace.\*

this occasion. She could not bear to see the unfortunate Demetrius once more a private man, and an exile! In her despair therefore, and detestation of fortune, who had always been more constant to him in her visits of adversity than prosperity, she took poison.

Demetrius, however, resolved to gather up the remains of his wreck; for which purpose he repaired to Greece, and collected such of his friends and officers as he found there. Menelaüs, in one of the tragedies of Sophocles<sup>52</sup>, gives this picture of his own fortune :

I move on Fortune's rapid wheel; my place  
For ever changing, like the lunar phase,  
Which each night varies. Hardly o'er the hills  
Now rising, soon her horn she shows; then tills  
Her orb with light; but in her loftiest reign  
'Midst all her glory, she begins to wane,  
Till lost she sinks in darkness.

But this picture is more applicable to Demetrius in his increase and his wane, his splendour and his obscurity. His glory seemed now entirely eclipsed and extinguished, and yet it broke out again and shone with new lustre. Fresh forces came in, and gradually filled up the measure of his hopes. This was the first occasion, upon which he addressed the cities as a private man, and without any of the ensigns of empire. Somebody, seeing him at Thebes in this condition, not inappositely applied to him those verses of Euripides;

To Dirce's fountain, and Ismenus' shore  
In mortal form he moves, a God no more<sup>53</sup>.

When he had re-entered the high road of hope, and had once more a respectable force and form of royalty about him, he restored to the Thebans their

\* Now lost.\*  
\* Bacch. l. 4. The river Ismenus washes the wall of Thebes, and Dirce is a stream in the neighbourhood.\*

ancient government and laws. At the same time, the Athenians abandoned his interests; and rasing out of their registers the name of Diphilus, who was then priest of the Gods-Protectors, ordered Archons to be re-appointed, according to ancient custom<sup>54</sup>. They likewise sent for Pyrrhus from Macedon, because they saw Demetrius grown stronger than they expected. Demetrius, greatly enraged, marched immediately to attack them, and laid close siege to the city. But Crates the philosopher, a man of high reputation and authority, being despatched to him by the people, partly by his entreaties for the Athenians, and partly by representing to him that his interest lay another way, prevailed upon him to raise the siege. After this he collected all his ships, embarked his army, which consisted of eleven thousand foot beside cavalry, and sailed to Asia with the hope of seducing Caria and Lydia from Lysimachus' party. Eurydice, the sister of Phila, received him at Miletus, having brought with her Ptolemaïs, her daughter by Ptolemy, who had formerly been engaged to him through the mediation of Seleucus. Demetrius married her, with the free consent of Eurydice, and soon afterward attempted the cities in that quarter: many of which opened their gates to him, and many others he took by force. Among the latter, was Sardis. Some of Lysimachus' officers likewise deserted to him, and brought sufficient appointments of money and troops along with them. But as Agathocles the son of Lysimachus advanced against him with a large army, he marched to Phrygia, intending first to seize Armenia, and then to try Media and the Upper Provinces, which might upon occasion afford him many places of retreat. Agathocles followed him close, and as he found Demetrius superior in all their skirmishes, he betook himself to cutting off his convoys. This distressed him not a little; and,

<sup>54</sup> See p. 372., where an account is given of their abolition.\*

what was another disagreeable circumstance, his soldiers suspected that he designed to lead them into Armenia and Media.

The famine increased every day, and by mistaking the fords of the river Lycus, he had a great number of men swept away with the stream. Yet, amidst all their distress, his troops were capable of jesting. One of them wrote upon the door of his tent the beginning of the tragedy of *Œdipus*, with a slight alteration,

Offspring of blind old king Antigonus,  
Say, whither dost thou lead us <sup>55</sup>?

Pestilence at last followed the famine, as it commonly happens, when people are under a necessity of eating every thing, however unwholesome; so that, finding he had lost in all not less than eight thousand men, he turned back with the rest. When he reached Tarsus, he was desirous of sparing the country, because it belonged to Seleucus, and he did not think proper to give him any pretence for declaring against him. But perceiving that it was impossible for his troops to avoid seizing something, when reduced to such extremities, and finding that Agathocles had fortified the passes of Mount Taurus, he wrote a letter to Seleucus containing a long and moving detail of his condition, and concluding with strong entreaties that he would take compassion upon a prince who was allied to him, and whose sufferings were such as would affect even an enemy.

Seleucus was touched with pity, and sent orders to his lieutenants in those parts to supply Demetrius with every thing suitable to the state of a king, and his army with sufficient provisions. But Patrocles,

<sup>55</sup> The alteration was very small indeed, for it was only changing *Antigonon* into *Antigonos*. In the tragedy it is,

Τικτὼν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡρώτου, Ἀντιγόνε, τίνας  
Χαίρεις ἀφ' ἡμετέρου;

The grossness of the parody is what Plutarch calls 'the jest.'

who was a man of understanding and a faithful friend to Seleucus, went to that prince and represented to him ; “ That the expense of furnishing Demetrius’ troops with provisions was a trifle, compared with the risk of tolerating in the country Demetrius himself, who had always been one of the most violent and enterprising princes in the world, and was now in such desperate circumstances as might stimulate even those of the mildest dispositions to bold and unjust attempts.”

Upon these representations, Seleucus marched into Cilicia with a great army. Demetrius, astonished and terrified at the sudden change in Seleucus, withdrew to the strongest posts which he could find on Mount Taurus ; and sent a message to him, imploring, “ That he might be permitted to make a conquest of some free nations of barbarians, and by settling among them as their king put a period to his wanderings. If this could not be granted, he hoped Seleucus would at least allow him to winter in that country, and not expose him naked and in want of every thing to the mercy of his enemies.”

As all these proposals had a suspicious appearance to Seleucus, he replied ; “ That he might, if he pleased, spend two months of the winter in Cataonia, upon sending him his principal friends as hostages.” But, at the same time, he secured the passes into Syria. Demetrius, thus surrounded like a wild beast in the toils, was under a necessity of having recourse to violence. He therefore ravaged the country, and had the advantage of Seleucus whenever he attacked him. Seleucus once beset him with his armed chariots, but he broke through them, and put his enemy to the rout. After this, he dislodged the corps that was to defend the heights on the side of Syria, and made himself master of the passages.

Elevated with his success, and finding the courage of his men restored, he prepared to fight a decisive battle with Seleucus. That prince was now in the utmost perplexity. He had rejected the succours offered him by Lysimachus, from a want of confidence in his honour, and from an apprehension of his designs; and he was loth to try his strength with Demetrius, because he dreaded his desperate courage, as well as his usual change of fortune, which had often raised him from the depth of misery to the summit of power. In the mean time Demetrius was seized with a fit of sickness, which considerably impaired his personal vigour, and entirely ruined his affairs: for part of his men went over to the enemy, and part left their colours and dispersed. In forty days he with difficulty recovered, and getting under march with the remains of his army, made a feint of moving toward Cilicia. But afterward in the night he decamped without sound of trumpet, and taking the contrary road crossed Mount Amanus, and ravaged the country on the other side as far as Cyrrhestica<sup>57</sup>.

Seleucus followed, and encamped very near him. Demetrius then, with the hope of surprising him, put his army in motion in the night. Seleucus was retired to rest; and in all probability his enemy would have succeeded, had not some deserters informed him of his danger. On this, he started up in great consternation, and ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm; and as he put on his sandals, he said to his friends, "What a terrible wild beast are we engaged with!" Demetrius, perceiving by the tumult in the enemy's camp that his scheme was discovered, retired as fast as possible.

At break of day Seleucus offered him battle, when Demetrius, ordering one of his officers to take care of one wing, placed himself at the head of the other, and made some impression upon the enemy. In

<sup>57</sup> A district of Syria.\*

the mean time Seleucus, quitting his horse, and laying aside his helmet, presented himself to Demetrius' hired troops with only his buckler in his hand; exhorting them to come over to him, and to be convinced at last that it was to spare them, not Demetrius, that he had been so long about the war. Upon which, they all saluted him king, and ranged themselves under his banner.

Demetrius, though of all the changes which he had experienced he thought the present the most terrible, yet imagining that he might extricate himself from this distress as well as the rest, fled to the passes of Mount Amanus; and gaining a thick wood, with a few friends and attendants who followed his fortune, waited there for the night. His intention was if possible to take the road to Caunus<sup>58</sup>, where he hoped to find his fleet, and thence to make his escape by sea; but, knowing that he had not provisions even for the current day, he meditated some other expedient. Afterward one of his friends, named Sosigenes, arrived with four hundred pieces of gold in his purse; by the assistance of which they hoped to reach the shore. Accordingly, when night came, they attempted to pass the heights: finding a number of fires however lighted there by the enemy, they despaired of succeeding that way, and returned to their former retreat; but neither with their whole company, for some had gone off, nor with the same spirits. One of them venturing to tell him, that he thought it was best for him to surrender himself to Seleucus, Demetrius drew his sword to kill himself: but his friends interposed, and consoling him in the best manner they could, persuaded him to follow this advice; in consequence of which, he sent to Seleucus, and yielded himself prisoner at discretion.

Upon this intelligence, Seleucus said to those about him, "It is not the good fortune of Demetrius, but mine which now saves him, and adds to

<sup>58</sup> A city in Caria.



“other favours this opportunity of testifying my “humanity.” Then calling the officers of his household, he ordered them to pitch a royal tent, and to provide every thing else for his reception and entertainment in the most magnificent manner. And as he happened to have in his service one Apollonides, who was an old acquaintance of Demetrius, he immediately despatched him to that prince, that he might feel himself more at ease, and come with the firmer confidence as to a son-in-law and a friend.

Upon the discovery of this favourable disposition of Seleucus, at first a few and afterward a considerable number of the courtiers waited on Demetrius, and strove which should pay him the highest respect; for it was expected, that his interest with Seleucus would soon be the best in the kingdom. But these compliments turned the compassion which his distress had excited into jealousy, and gave occasion to the envious and the malevolent to divert the stream of the king’s humanity from him, by alarming him with apprehensions not of a slight change, but of violent commotions in his army on the sight of Demetrius.

Apollonides was now come to Demetrius with extreme satisfaction, and others who followed to pay their court brought extraordinary accounts of Seleucus’ kindness; insomuch that Demetrius, though in the first shock of his unfortunate fall he had thought it a deep disgrace to surrender himself, was now displeased at his own reluctance (such confidence had he in the hopes, which they held out to him!) when Pausanias advancing with a party of horse and foot, to the number of a thousand, suddenly surrounded him, and drove away such as he found inclined to favour his cause. After he had thus seized his person, instead of conducting him to the presence of Seleucus, he carried him to the Syrian Chersonese<sup>39</sup>. There he was kept indeed under a

<sup>39</sup> Or Apamea; a city situated upon a hill, peninsulated by the

strong guard, but Seleucus sent him a sufficient equipage, and supplied him with money and a table suitable to his rank. He had also places of exercise and walks, worthy of a king; his parks were well stored with game; and such of his friends, as had accompanied him in his flight, were permitted to attend him. Seleucus had likewise the complaisance frequently to despatch some of his people with kind and encouraging messages, intimating that as soon as Antiochus and Stratonice should arrive, terms of accommodation would be arranged, and he should be set at liberty.

Under this misfortune Demetrius wrote to his son, and to his officers and friends in Athens and Corinth, desiring them to trust neither his hand-writing nor his seal, but to act as if he were dead, and to keep the cities and all his remaining estates for Antigonus. When that young prince was informed of his father's confinement, he was extremely concerned at it: he put on mourning, and wrote not only to the other kings, but to Seleucus himself; offering, on condition that his father were released, to cede all the remaining possessions, and to deliver himself up as an hostage. Many cities and princes joined in the request; but Lysimachus was not of the number. On the contrary, he tendered Seleucus a large sum of money, to induce him to put Demetrius to death. For this proposal Seleucus, who had before looked upon him in an indifferent light, abhorred him as a villain; and he only waited for the arrival of Antiochus and Stratonice, to pay them the compliment of restoring Demetrius to his liberty.

Demetrius, who at first supported his misfortune with patience, by custom learned to submit to it with a still better grace. For some time, he took the exercises of hunting and running; but he gradually relinquished them, and sunk into indolence and inactivity. He afterward indulged in drinking and

\*Orontes and adjacent marshes, and thence denominated 'The Chersonese.'\*

play, and spent most of his time in that kind of dissipation; whether it was to elude the thoughts of his present condition, which he could not bear in his sober hours, and to drown reflexion in the bowl; or that he was at last sensible this was the sort of life which, though originally the object of his desires, he had idly renounced to follow the dictates of an absurd ambition. Perhaps he considered that he had given himself and others infinite trouble<sup>60</sup>, by seeking with fleets and armies that happiness which he found (when he least expected it) in ease, indulgence, and repose. For what other end does the wretched and silly vanity of kings propose to itself in all their wars and dangers, but to quit the paths of virtue and honour for those of luxury and pleasure; the sure consequence of their not knowing, what real pleasure and true enjoyment are?

Demetrius, after three years' confinement in the Chersonese, fell into a distemper occasioned by idleness and excess, which carried him off at the age of fifty-four<sup>61</sup>. Seleucus was severely censured, and indeed was himself much concerned, for his unjust suspicions of Demetrius: whereas he should have followed the example of Dromichætes, who though a Thracian and barbarian, had treated Lysimachus (when his prisoner) with all the generosity that became a king.

There was something of a theatrical pomp, even in Demetrius' funeral. For Antigonus, being informed that they were bringing his father's ashes to Greece, went to meet them with his whole fleet; and finding them near the isles of the Ægean sea, took the urn, which was of solid gold, on board the admiral galley. The cities at which they touched sent crowns to adorn the urn, and persons in mourning to assist at the funeral solemnity. When the fleet approached Corinth, the urn was seen in a

<sup>60</sup> Upon this subject, see Cincas' observations in the Life of Pyrrhus, III. 84.

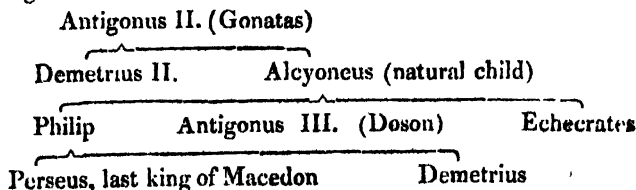
<sup>61</sup> B. C. 286.

conspicuous position upon the stern of the vessel, adorned with a purple robe and a diadem, and attended by a company of young men well armed. Xenophantus, the most eminent performer on the flute of that time, sat by the urn, and played a solemn air. The oars kept time with the notes, and accompanied them with a melancholy sound, like that of mourners in a funeral procession beating their breasts in concert with the music. But it was the mournful appearance and the tears of Antigonus, which excited the greatest compassion among the people as they passed. After the Corinthians had bestowed crowns and all due honours upon the remains, Antigonus carried them to Demetrias, and deposited them there. This was a city called after the deceased, which he had peopled from the little towns about Iölcus<sup>62</sup>.

Demetrius left behind him several children: Antigonus and Stratonice, whom he had by his wife Phila; and two sons of the name of Demetrius, one surnamed 'the Slender,' by an Illyrian woman, and the other by Ptolemais, afterward king of Cyrene. By Deïdamia he had Alexander, who took up his residence in Egypt, and by his last wife Eurydice he is said to have had a son named Corrhabus. His posterity enjoyed the throne in continued succession down to Perseus<sup>63</sup> the last king of Macedon, in

<sup>62</sup> Strabo, ix., has preserved the names of these constituent townships. The city itself was in Magnesia, upon the Pelasgic gulf.\*

<sup>63</sup> About a hundred and sixteen years. The descendents of his son Antigonus were as follows:



Philip, meanly employed at Rome. Alexander, and a daughter. The two latter died in prison. They were all three led in triumph with their father. See the *Life of Paulus Æmilius*, II. 289., not. (29.)

whose time the Romans subdued that country.  
Having thus gone through the Macedonian drama,  
let us now bring the Roman upon the stage.

THE  
LIFE  
OF  
ANTONY.

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SUMMARY.

*Family of Antony. He is educated by his mother. His licentious youth. He is banished from his father's house, and passes into Greece : makes a campaign under Gabinius in Syria. His exploits in Egypt. His manliness of aspect ; excessive extravagance. He is elected tribune of the people, and attaches himself to Cæsar's party. Driven from the senate-house, he flies to Cæsar's camp ; and by his ill-conduct renders his authority odious : brings him considerable reinforcements, and is appointed his general of the horse : quarrels with Dolabella, and disgusts all parties by his licentiousness : marries Fulvia. Her character. He prevents Cæsar from appointing Dolabella consul : offers a diadem to Cæsar at the Lupercalia. His conduct after Cæsar's death ; at first favourable to the conspirators. He subsequently excites the people against them. Has an interview with Octavius at Rome ; is defeated by him, and obliged to fly : is joined by the troops of Lepidus, and Munatius Plancus : comes to an accommodation with Octavius. Proscriptions. Triumvirate of Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus. The two first defeat Brutus and Cassius. Antony's voyage into Greece and Asia, and his voluptuous life. His disgraceful exhibitions in public. Artful freedom of his sycophants. He orders Cleopatra, who was accused of having assisted Cassius, to meet him in Cilicia. Her magnificent galley, and interview with Antony. Their mode of life. Sumptuous presents made by his son to Philotas the physician. Address of Cleopatra in capti-*

rating Antony. His intelligence from Italy obliges him to return thither. He is reconciled to Cæsar, and marries his sister Octavia. Their joint accommodation with young Pompey. Successes of Ventidius over the Parthians. Antony's reputation among the Barbarians. Octavia mediates between her husband and brother. Antony's love for Cleopatra revives. He marches against the Parthians; but his formidable armament is rendered useless by his fatal passion. His first check. His military engines seized. He obtains a slight advantage, and with difficulty regains his camp. Stratagem of Phraates to surprise him. Antony marches from Parthia. Advice of a Mardian. He is attacked on his retreat, but repulses the enemy: is attacked again, and through the rashness of Gallus sustains a heavy loss: Gallus himself slain. Affection of the soldiers for Antony. The Parthians make their appearance, and are driven back. Famine in the Roman army. New stratagem of the enemy, of which Antony is apprised by one Mithridates. He is pursued. His troops despond. Tumult in his camp. He crosses a river, and the Parthians discontinue their pursuit. His losses in this expedition: impatience to revisit Cleopatra, and new projects against the Parthians. Octavia sets off to join her husband. Cleopatra's alarms, and arts upon the occasion. He puts off his Median expedition. Cæsar wishes to make Octavia quit his house. Antony becomes odious from his distribution of provinces to his children by Cleopatra. Mutual criminations of Antony and Cæsar. Antony sails with Cleopatra to Samos, where they spend several days in festivals. Thence they proceed to Athens, where Cleopatra receives public honours. Cæsar completes his preparations. Complaints against Antony. He is forsaken by many of his friends. Geninius goes into Greece, and endeavours to reconcile him with Octavia. Cæsar declares war against Cleopatra. Prodigies unfavourable to Antony. Respective forces of Antony and Cæsar. The former, though much superior at land, to gratify Cleopatra, resolves to engage by sea: is abandoned by some of his allies. Canidius' advice, frustrated by Cleopatra. Antony is nearly seized by some of Cæsar's troops. They draw up their fleets, and harangue their followers. Antony commences the attack. Cleopatra flies, and he follows her. Danger incurred in their flight. He sends orders to Canidius to march to Macedon into Asia. Cæsar takes possession of the rest of his fleet, and sails for Athens. Antony flies to a small island, and at last returns to Alexandria. He retires to a small island near Pharos, and affects like Timon to sequester himself

*from mankind. Digression upon that misanthrope. Antony returns to Alexandria, and resumes his usual festivity. Cleopatra tries the effects of several poisonous drugs. They both despatch ambassadors to Cæsar; who absolutely rejects the petition of Antony, and sends Thyreus to Cleopatra. She removes her treasures into some tombs of her own construction. Cæsar marches into Egypt. Presages of Antony's defeat, verified. Cleopatra orders Antony to be informed, that she is dead. He stabs himself, and directs his servants to carry him to the door of her monument. Cæsar regrets his death, and sends Proculeius to take Cleopatra alive. He gets into the monument, and prevents her from stabbing herself. Cæsar makes his entry into Alexandria, and spares it for the sake of his friend Arius. He orders Antyllus, Antony's eldest son by Fulvius, and Cæsario, Julius Cæsar's son by Cleopatra, to be executed. Cleopatra determines upon death. Cæsar pays her a visit, consoles her, and flatters himself that she is reconciled to live. She makes her last oblations to Antony. Her death: different traditions about it. Antony's children, and their connexions by marriage.*

**T**HE grandfather of Mark Antony was Antony the orator, who followed the faction of Sylla, and was put to death by Marius<sup>1</sup>. His father was Antony, surnamed Creticus, a man of no figure or consequence in the political world<sup>2</sup>, but distinguished for his integrity, benevolence, and liberality; of which the following little circumstance is a sufficient proof: his fortune was not large; and his wife, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Valerius Maximus says, that Antony the orator was put to death by the joint order of Cinna and Marius. But Cicero mentions Cinna singly, as the immediate cause. (Philipp. I.) See the Life of Marius, III. 177. He had been consul, and obtained the honours of a triumph.

<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, he conducted the war in Crete, and thence had his surname. (L.) Metellus however, who subdued that island, and treated the nations with great severity, had a much higher military claim to the honour of his similar denomination. (Hor. jii. 7.)\*



very prudently laid some restraint upon his munificent disposition. An acquaintance of his, who was under some pecuniary difficulties, applied to him for assistance. Antony, having no money at command, ordered his boy to bring him a silver bason full of water, under pretence of shaving, presented it to his friend, and bade him make what use of it he thought proper. The disappearance of the bason occasioned no small commotion in the family; upon which Antony, finding his wife prepared to take a severe account of the servants, begged her pardon, and told her the truth.

His wife's name was Julia. She was of the family of the Cæsars, and a woman of distinguished merit and modesty. Under her auspices, Mark Antony received his education; when, after the death of his father, she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death for having engaged in Catiline's conspiracy. This was the origin of the lasting enmity, which took place between Cicero and Antony. The latter affirmed, that his mother Julia was even obliged to beg the body from Cicero's wife for interment. But this is not true; for none of those, who suffered on the same occasion under Cicero, were refused this privilege.

Antony was most agreeable in his person, and was so unfortunate as to fall into the good graces and friendship of Curio, a man devoted to every species of licentiousness; who, to render his youthful friend the more dependent upon him, led him into all the excesses of indulging in wine and women, and all the exorbitant expenses which such indulgences imply. Of course he was soon deeply involved in debt, and owed at least two hundred and fifty talents, while he was yet a very young man. Curio was bound for the payment of this money; and his father, being informed of it, banished Antony from his house. Thus dismissed, he attached himself to Clodius, that pestilent and audacious tribune, who threw the state into such dreadful dis-

order; till weary of his mad measures, and afraid of his opponents, he passed into Greece, where he employed himself in military exercises and the study of eloquence. The Asiatic stile<sup>3</sup> was then much in vogue, and Antony fell naturally into it; as it corresponded with his manners, which were vain, pompous, insolent, and assuming.

In Greece he received an invitation from Gabinus, the proconsul, to make a campaign with him in Syria. This invitation he refused to accept as a private man; but, on receiving an appointment to the command of the cavalry, he attended him. His first operation was against Aristobulus, who had excited the Jews to revolt. He was the foremost who scaled the wall; and this he did in the highest part. He drove Aristobulus from all his forts; and, afterward, with a handful of men, defeated his numerous army in a pitched battle. Most of the enemy were slain, and Aristobulus and his son were taken prisoners. Upon the conclusion of this war, Gabinus was solicited by Ptolemy<sup>4</sup> to carry his arms into Egypt, and restore him to his kingdom. The reward of this service was to be ten thousand talents. The chief part of the officers disapproved of the expedition; and Gabinus himself did not readily enter into it, though the money pleaded strongly in it's behalf. Antony however, ambitious of great enterprises and vain of gratifying a suppliant king, used every means to draw Gabinus into the service, and prevailed. It was the general opinion, that the march to Pelusium was more dangerous, than the war that was to follow. For they were to traverse a sandy and unwatered country, by the

<sup>3</sup> Cicero (Brut. 95.) mentions two sorts of stile, called 'the Asiatic.' *Unum sententiosum et argutum, sententiis non tam gravibus et severis, quàm concinnis et venustis.—Aliud autem genus est, non tam sententiis frequentatum, quàm verbis volucre atque incitatum; quali nunc est Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam exornato et faceto genere verborum.*

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy Auletes. See Dio, xxxix.\*

filthy bog of Serbonis<sup>s</sup>, whose stagnant ooze the Egyptians call 'the exhalations of Typhon;' though it is probably only the drainings of the Red-Sea, which is there separated from the Mediterranean by a mere neck of land.

Antony being ordered thither with the cavalry, not only seized the straits, but took the large city of Pelusium, and made the garrison prisoners. By this operation he at once opened a secure passage for the army, and a fair prospect of victory for their general. The same love of glory, which was so serviceable to his own party, was upon this occasion advantageous to the enemy. For when Ptolemy entered Pelusium, in the rage of revenge he would have put the citizens to death; but Antony resolutely opposed it, and prevented him from executing his horrid purpose. In the several actions, in which he was concerned, he gave distinguished proofs of his conduct and valour; but especially in that manœuvre where, by wheeling about and attacking the enemy in the rear, he enabled those who charged in front to gain a complete victory. For this action, he received suitable honours and rewards.

His humane care of the body of Archelaüs, who fell in the battle, was noticed even by the common men. He had been his intimate friend, and connected with him in the rights of hospitality; and though he was obliged by his duty to oppose him in the field, he no sooner heard that he was fallen, than he ordered search to be made for his body, and interred it with regal magnificence. This conduct caused him to be respected in Alexandria, and admired by the Romans.

Antony had a noble dignity of countenance, a graceful length of beard, a large forehead, an aquil-

<sup>s</sup> By this, Milton, P. L. ii., illustrates the region beyond Lethe;

A gulf profound, as that Serbonian bog,  
Betwixt Damietta and Mount Casius old,  
Where armies whole have sunk.\*

line nose; and, upon the whole, the same manly aspect, that we see in the pictures and statues of Hercules. There was indeed an ancient tradition, that his family had descended from Hercules, by a son of his called Antcon; and it was no wonder that Antony sought to confirm this opinion, by affecting to resemble him in his air and dress. Thus, when he appeared in public, he wore his vest girt on the hips, a large sword, and over all a coarse mantle. That kind of conduct, which would seem disagreeable to others, rendered him the darling of the army. He talked with the soldiers in their own swaggering and ribald strain, ate and drank with them in public, and would stand to take his victuals at their mess-table. He was pleasant on the subject of his amours, ready in assisting the intrigues of others, and easy under the raillery to which he was subjected by his own. His liberality to the soldiers, and to his friends, was the first foundation of his advancement, and continued to support him in that power, which he was otherwise weakening by ten thousand irregularities. A single instance of his liberality I must mention. He had ordered two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas, which the Romans call *decies*, to be given to one of his friends. His steward, startled at the extravagance of the sum, laid the silver in a heap, that he might see it as he passed. He saw it, and inquired it's destination. "It is the sum," answered the steward, "that you ordered for a present." Antony perceiving his envious design, to mortify him still more, coolly observed, "I really thought the sum would have made a better figure: 'tis too little; let it be doubled." This, however, was in the latter part of his life.

Rome was divided into two parties: Pompey was

\* The same story is told of Alexander. A similar stratagem was practised upon some modern prince by his treasurer, with better success. The sight of the devoted guineas moved him from his purpose, and he gravely said, 'Half the sum will do.'\*

with the senate. The people were desirous of bringing Cæsar with his army out of Gaul. Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed sides and joined Cæsar, carried Antony likewise over to his interest. The influence which he had obtained by his eloquence, and by the profusion of money supplied from Cæsar's funds, enabled him to make Antony tribune of the people, and subsequently augur. Antony was no sooner in power, than Cæsar found the advantage of his services. In the first place, he opposed the consul Marcellus, whose design it was to bestow upon Pompey the command of the old legions, and at the same time to empower him to raise new ones. Upon this occasion he obtained a decree, that the forces then on foot should be sent into Syria, and join Bibulus in carrying on the war against the Parthians; and that none should give in their names to serve under Pompey. On another occasion, when the senate would neither receive Cæsar's letters nor suffer them to be read, he read them by virtue of his tribunitial authority; and thus, as the requests of Cæsar appeared moderate and reasonable, brought over many to his interest. Two questions were at length proposed in the senate; one, 'Whether Pompey should dismiss his army?' the other, 'Whether Cæsar should dismiss his?' For the former, there were but few votes, while a large majority voted for the latter. Upon which Antony stood up, and demanded, 'Whether both Cæsar and Pompey should dismiss their armies?' This motion being received with great acclamations, Antony was applauded, and desired to put it to the vote. The consuls, however, opposing this measure, the friends of Cæsar made other proposals, which seemed by no means unreasonable: but they were over-ruled by Cato<sup>7</sup>, and Antony was commanded

<sup>7</sup> Cicero asserts, that Antony was the immediate cause of the civil war; but, if he could have laid down his prejudice, he might have discovered a more immediate cause in the impolitic resentment of Cato.

by Lentulus the consul to leave the house. He left it, with bitter execrations; and disguising himself like a servant, accompanied only by Quintus Cassius, hired a carriage, and went immediately to Cæsar. As soon as they arrived, they exclaimed that nothing was conducted at Rome according to order or law, that even the tribunes were refused the privilege of speaking, and whoever would rise in defence of the right, must be expelled and exposed to personal danger.

Cæsar, upon this, marched his army into Italy; and hence it was observed by Cicero, in his *Philippics*, that Antony was not less the cause of the civil, than Helen had been of the Trojan war\*. There is, however, but little truth in this assertion. Cæsar was not so much a slave to the impulse of resentment, as to have undertaken so desperate a measure, if it had not been premeditated. Neither would he have carried war into the bowels of his country, merely because he saw Antony and Cassius flying to him in a mean dress and a hired carriage. At the same time, these things might give some colour to the commencement of hostilities long predetermined?. Cæsar's motive was the same, which had before driven Alexander and Cyrus over the ruins of human kind; the insatiable lust of empire, the frantic ambition of being the first man upon earth, which he knew he could not be while Pompey was yet alive.

As soon as he was arrived at Rome and had dri-

\* *Ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic reip. causa belli; causa pestis atque exitii fuit.* (Philipp. ii. 22.) (L.) M. Ricard enters into an elaborate defence of Cicero upon the occasion, and proves that both Antony and Helen were the mere prettexts to Cæsar and Agamemnon for their respective wars; referring for his authorities, with regard to Troy, to Herod. ii. 120. and Thucyd. i. 9.; and subjoining his suspicion that *causa*, as occasionally meaning 'pretext,' might be misunderstood by the Chæronean biographer.\*

† Cæsar, as Cicero informs us, alleged in his defence; *Quod intercessio Antonii neglecta, jus tribunitium sublatum, circumscriptus à senatu esset Antonius!* \*

ven Pompey out of Italy, his first design was to attack his legions in Spain, and having a fleet in readiness, to go afterward in pursuit of Pompey himself; while, in the mean time, Rome was left to the government of Lepidus the prætor, and Italy and the army to the command of Antony the tribune. Antony, by the sociability of his disposition, soon rendered himself agreeable to the soldiers. For he ate and drank with them, and made them presents to the utmost of his ability. To others, his behaviour was less acceptable. He was too indolent to attend to the cause of the injured, too violent and too impatient when he was applied to upon business, and infamous for his adulteries. In short, though there was nothing tyrannical in the government Cæsar, it was rendered odious by the ill conduct of his friends; and, as Antony had the largest share of the power, so he bore the greatest part of the blame. Cæsar notwithstanding, upon his return from Spain, connived at his irregularities; and indeed, in the military appointment which he had given him, he had judged not improperly; for Antony was a brave, skilful, and active general.

Cæsar embarked at Brundisium, crossed the Ionian sea with a small number of troops, and sent back the fleet, with orders that Antony and Gabinius should put the army on board, and proceed as fast as possible to Macedon. Gabinius was afraid of the sea, as it was winter, and the passage was dangerous. He, therefore, marched his forces a long way round by land. Antony on the other hand, apprehensive that Cæsar might be surrounded and overcome by his enemies, beat off Libo, who lay at anchor in the mouth of the haven of Brundisium; sending out several small vessels, to encompass his galleys separately, and thus obliged them to retire<sup>10</sup>. He then seized the opportunity of embarking about twenty

<sup>10</sup> Of this action Cæsar himself has given a more detailed account, Bell. Civ. iii. 23.\*

thousand foot, and eight hundred horse; and with these he set sail. The enemy discovered, and made up to him; but he escaped, by favour of a strong gale from the south, which rendered the sea so rough that the pursuers could not reach him. The same wind, however, at first drove him upon a rocky shore, on which the sea broke so roughly, that there appeared no hope of escaping shipwreck; but after a little while it changed to the south-west, and blowing off land to the main sea, Antony sailed in safety, with the satisfaction of seeing the wrecks of the enemy's fleet scattered along the coast. The storm had driven their ships upon the rocks, and many of them went to pieces. Antony profited by this disaster; for he took several prisoners, and a considerable booty. He made himself master, likewise, of the town of Lissus<sup>11</sup>; and, from the seasonable arrival of his re-inforcement, gave a more promising aspect to Cæsar's affairs.

In every battle that was fought, Antony distinguished himself. Twice he stopped the army in it's flight, brought them back to the charge, and gained the victory; so that, in point of military reputation, he was inferior only to Cæsar. What opinion Cæsar had of his abilities, appeared in the last decisive battle at Pharsalia. He led the right wing himself, and gave the left to Antony, as to the ablest of his officers. After this battle, Cæsar being appointed dictator went in pursuit of Pompey, and despatched Antony to Rome, as his general of the horse. This officer is next in power to the dictator, and has the sole command in his absence. For on the election of a dictator, all the other magistrates, with the exception of the tribunes, are divested of their authority.

Dolabella, one of the tribunes, a young man fond of innovations, proposed a law for the abolition of debts; and solicited his friend Antony, who was

<sup>11</sup> A city of Macedon, above Dyrrachium.\*



ever ready to gratify the people, to join him in this measure. On the other hand, Asinius and Trebellius dissuaded him from it. Antony happened at this time to suspect a criminal connexion between Dolabella and his wife, whom upon that account he dismissed, though she was his first-cousin, and daughter to Caius Antonius, who had been colleague with Cicero. In consequence of this, he joined Asinius, and opposed Dolabella. The latter having taken possession of the Forum, with a design to carry his law by force, Antony being ordered by the senate to repel force with force, attacked him, killed several of his men, and lost some of his own.

By this action, he forfeited the favour of the people. But this was not the only thing, which rendered him obnoxious; for men of sense (as Cicero observes) could not but condemn his nocturnal revels, his enormous extravagance, his scandalous lewdness, his sleeping in the day, his walks to carry off the qualms of debauchery, and his entertainments on the marriages of players and buffoons. It is said, that after drinking all night at the wedding of Hippias the player, he was summoned in the morning upon business to the Forum; when through excessive repletion he was unfortunately, in the presence of the people, seized with a fit of vomiting, and one of his friends received the contents of his stomach in his gown<sup>12</sup>. Sergius the player had the greatest interest with him; and Cytheris<sup>13</sup>, a lady of the same profession, had the management of his heart. She attended him in his excursions; and her equipage was in no respect inferior to that of his mother. The people were offended at the pomp of his travelling plate, which was more fit for the ornament of a triumph; at his erecting tents on the road, by groves and rivers, for the most luxurious dinners;

<sup>12</sup> For a very spirited and graphical description of this disgusting scene, see Cic. Philipp. ii. 25. In the preceding section some account is, likewise, given of Cytheris.

<sup>13</sup> Cic. Ep. ad Att. x. 10.

at his chariots drawn by lions, and at his billeting his ladies of pleasure and female musicians upon modest and sober people. This dissatisfaction at Antony's conduct could not but be increased by the comparative view of that of Cæsar. While the latter was supporting the fatigues of a military life, the former was indulging himself in all the dissipation of luxury, and by means of his delegated power insulting the citizens.

This behaviour occasioned many disturbances in Rome, and gave the soldiers an opportunity of abusing and plundering the people. When Cæsar therefore returned to Rome, he pardoned Dolabella; and on his being created consul the third time, took Lepidus, and not Antony, for his colleague. Antony, who had purchased Pompey's house, when he was required to make the payment, expressed himself in very angry terms; and this, he informs us, was the reason why he would not accompany Cæsar into Africa. His former services he thought insufficiently repaid. Cæsar however, by his disapprobation of Antony's conduct, seems to have thrown some restraint upon his dissolute manner of life.

He now resolved to marry, and made choice of Fulvia, the widow of the seditious Clodius, a woman by no means adapted to domestic employments, nor even contented with ruling her husband as a private man. Her ambition was to govern those who governed, and to command the commanders of armies. It was to Fulvia therefore that Cleopatra was obliged, for having taught Antony due submission to female authority. He had gone through such a course of discipline, as made him perfectly tractable when he came into her hands.

He endeavoured, however, to amuse the violent spirit of Fulvia by many whimsical and pleasant follies. When Cæsar, after his success in Spain, was on his return to Rome, Antony among others went to meet him; but a report having prevailed that Cæsar was killed, and that the enemy was marching

into Italy, he returned immediately to Rome, and entering his house by night in the disguise of a slave, pretended that he had letters from Antony to Fulvia. Upon this, he was introduced to her with his head muffled up: and before she received the letter, she impatiently inquired, if Antony were well. He presented the letter to her in silence; and while she was opening it, he threw his arms round her neck, and kissed her. We adduce this as one instance, out of many, of his pleasantries.

When Cæsar returned from Spain, most of the principal citizens went some days' journey to meet him; but Antony had the most distinguished reception, and accompanied him in his chariot through Italy. After them came Brutus Albinus, and Octavius the son of Cæsar's niece, who was afterward, under the name of Augustus Cæsar, for many years emperor of Rome. Cæsar, being created consul for the fifth time, chose Antony for his colleague; but, as he intended to resign the consulship in favour of Dolabella, he acquainted the senate with his resolution. This measure Antony vehemently opposed, and loaded Dolabella with the most flagrant reproaches. Dolabella did not fail to return the abuse; and Cæsar, offended at their scurrilous behaviour, put off the affair till another time. When it was again proposed, Antony insisted that the omens from the flight of birds were against the measure<sup>14</sup>. Thus Cæsar was obliged to give up Dolabella, who was not a little mortified by his disappointment. It appears, however, that Cæsar had as little regard for Dolabella, as he had for Antony; for, when both were accused of designs against him, he said contemptuously enough, "It is not those fat sleek fellows I am afraid of, but the pale and the lean\*." By these he meant Brutus and Cassius, who subsequently put him to

<sup>14</sup> This power he had by virtue of his office, as augur.

\* See the Life of Cæsar, Vol. IV. p. 430., and of Brutus, Vol. VI. p. 63.

death. Antony, without intending it, gave them a pretence for that undertaking. When the Romans were celebrating the Lupercalia, Cæsar in a triumphal habit sat on the Rostrum to see the race. Upon this occasion, many of the young nobility and the magistracy, anointed with oil and having white thongs in their hands, run about and strike, as in sport, every one whom they meet. Antony was of the number : but regardless of the ceremonies of the institution, he took a garland of laurel, and wreathing it in a diadem, run to the Rostrum ; where being lifted up by his companions, he would have placed it on Cæsar's head, intimating thereby the conveyance of regal power. Cæsar, however, seemed to decline the offer, and was on this account applauded by the people. Antony persisted in his design ; and for some time there was a contest between them, while he who offered the diadem had the applause of his friends, and he who refused it the acclamations of the multitude. Thus, what is singular enough, while the Romans endured every thing that regal power could impose, they dreaded the name of king as destructive of their liberty. Cæsar was much concerned at this transaction, and uncovering his neck, offered his life to any one that would take it. At length, the diadem was placed upon one of his statues, but the tribunes pulled it off<sup>15</sup> ; upon which, the people followed them home with great acclamations. Afterward, however, Cæsar showed that he resented this, by turning those tribunes out of office.

From these circumstances, the enterprize of Brutus and Cassius derived strength and encouragement. To the rest of their friends, whom they had selected for the purpose, they wished to draw over Antony :

<sup>15</sup> *Cum Tribuni plebis, Epidius Marullus, Cæsetiusque Flavius, coronæ fasciam detrahi, hominemque duci in vincula jussissent ; dolens seu parùm prosperè motam regni mentionem, sive (ut ferebat) ereptam sibi gloriam recusandi, tribunos graviter increpitos potestate privavit. (Suet. Jul. 79.)*

Trebonius alone objected to him. He informed them that, in their journey to meet Cæsar, he had been generally with him : that he had sounded him upon this business by hints, which though cautious were intelligible ; and that he had always expressed his disapprobation, though he never betrayed the secret. It was then proposed, that Antony should fall at the same time with Cæsar ; but this Brutus opposed. An action, undertaken in support of justice and the laws, he very properly thought, should have nothing unjust connected with it. Of Antony however they were afraid, both in respect of his personal valour, and the influence of his office ; and it was agreed that, when Cæsar was in the house, and they were on the point of executing their purpose, Antony should be amused without by some pretended discourse upon business.

When, in consequence of these measures, Cæsar was slain, Antony absconded in the disguise of a slave ; but after he found that the conspirators were assembled in the Capitol, and had no farther designs of massacre, he invited them to come down, and sent his son to them as an hostage. That night Cassius supped with him, and Brutus with Lepidus. The day following he assembled the senate, when he proposed that an act of amnesty should be passed, and that provinces should be assigned to Brutus and Cassius. This the senate confirmed, and at the same time ratified the acts of Cæsar. Thus Antony acquitted himself in this difficult affair with the highest reputation ; and, by saving Rome from a civil war, proved himself a most able and valuable politician. But the intoxication of glory drew him off from these wise and moderate councils ; and from his influence with the people he felt that, if Brutus were borne down, he should be the first man in Rome. With this view, when Cæsar's body was exposed in the Forum, he undertook the customary funeral oration ; and as he found the people affected and interested by his encomiums upon the

deceased, he endeavoured still more to excite their compassion, by every thing that was pitiable or aggravating in the massacre. For this purpose, in the close of his oration, he plucked the robe from the dead body, and held it up to them bloody as it was, and pierced through with weapons; not hesitating, at the same time, to call the perpetrators of the deed 'villains and murderers.' This had such an effect upon the people, that they immediately tore up the benches and tables in the Forum, to make a pile for the body. After they had duly discharged the funeral rites, they snatched the burning brands from the pile, and rushed to attack the houses of the conspirators.

Brutus and his party now left the city, and Cæsar's friends joined Antony. Calphurnia, his widow, entrusted him with her treasure, which amounted to four thousand talents. All Cæsar's papers likewise, which contained a particular account of his designs, were delivered up to him. Of these Antony made a very ingenious use, for by inserting in them what names he thought proper, he created some of his friends magistrates, and others senators; some he recalled from exile, and others he released from prison, under pretence that all these things had been ordered by Cæsar. The people, thus favoured, the Romans called 'Charonites'<sup>16</sup>; because, to support their title, they had recourse to the registers of the dead. The power of Antony, in short, was absolute. He was himself consul, his brother Caius was prætor, and his brother Lucius tribune of the people.

Such was the state of affairs when Octavius, who was the son of Cæsar's niece<sup>17</sup>, and appointed by will his heir, arrived at Rome from Apollonia, where he resided when his uncle was killed. He first

<sup>16</sup> The slaves, who were enfranchised by the last will of their masters, were so denominated, as well as 'Orcini.' (Suet. Aug. 35.)

<sup>17</sup> See the Life of Cicero, p. 346.

visited Antony as his uncle's friend; and spoke to him concerning the money in his hands, and the legacy of seventy-five drachmas left to every Roman citizen. Antony, however, paid little regard to him; telling him, it would be madness for an unexperienced and friendless young man to undertake so important an office, as that of being executor to Cæsar.

But Octavius was not thus to be repulsed. He still demanded the money; and Antony, on the other hand, did every thing to mortify and affront him. He opposed him in his application for the tribuneship: and when he made use of the golden chair, which had been granted by the senate to his uncle<sup>18</sup>, he threatened that unless he desisted from soliciting the people, he would commit him to prison. But when Octavius joined Cicero, and the rest of Antony's enemies, and by their means obtained an interest in the senate; when he continued to pay his court to the people, and drew the veteran soldiers from their quarters, Antony alarmed, for the consequences gave him a meeting in the Capitol.

Upon this an accommodation took place, but it was soon destroyed; for that very night Antony dreamed that his right hand was struck by thunder, and a few days afterward he was informed that Octavius had a design against his life. The latter would have justified himself, but he met with no credit; that, of course, the breach became as wide as ever. They now immediately hurried over Italy, and endeavoured to be before-hand with each other, in securing by rewards and promises the old troops that were in different quarters, and such legions as were still on foot.

Cicero, who had at that time considerable influence in the city, incensed the people against Antony, and prevailed upon the senate to declare him

<sup>18</sup> The senate had decreed to Cæsar the privilege of using a golden chair, adorned with a crown of gold and precious stones, in all the theatres. (Dion. xlv. 6.)

a public enemy ; to send the rods and the rest of the prætorial ensigns to young Cæsar, and to commission Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls, to drive his opponent out of Italy. The two armies engaged near Mutina<sup>19</sup>, and Cæsar was present at the battle: both the consuls were slain, but Antony was defeated. In his flight he was reduced to great extremities, particularly by famine. Distress, however, was to him a school of moral improvement; and Antony, in adversity, was almost a man of virtue. It is common indeed for men under misfortunes to have a clear view of their duty, but a change of conduct from bad to good is not always the consequence. Upon such occasions, they too often relapse into their former manners, through the inactivity of reason and infirmity of mind. But Antony was even a pattern for his soldiers. From all the varieties of luxurious living, he readily acquiesced in drinking foul water, and eating the wild fruits and roots of the desert. Nay, it is said, that they devoured the very bark of the trees ; and that in passing the Alps they fed upon creatures, which had never before been accounted human food.

Antony's design was to join Lepidus, who commanded the army on the other side of the Alps : and he had a reasonable prospect of his friendship, from the good offices which he had done him with Julius Cæsar. When he came within a small distance of him, he encamped ; but, receiving no encouragement, he resolved to hazard all upon a single cast. His hair was uncombed ; and his beard, which he had not shaved since his defeat, was long. In this forlorn figure, with a mourning mantle thrown over him, he came to Lepidus' camp, and addressed himself to the soldiers. While some were affected with his appearance, and others with his eloquence, Lepidus afraid of the consequence ordered the trumpets to sound, that he might no longer be heard.



This, however, contributed to heighten the compassion of the soldiers; so that they sent Lælius and Clodius, in the dress of those ladies who hired out their favours to the army, to assure Antony, that if he had resolution enough to attack the trenches, he would find many, not only ready to receive him, but (if he wished it) to assassinate Lepidus himself. Antony would not suffer any violence to be offered to him; but the day following, at the head of his troops, he crossed the river which lay between the two camps, and had the satisfaction to see Lepidus' soldiers all the while stretching out their hands to him, and making way through the entrenchments.

Having thus possessed himself of Lepidus' camp, he treated him with the utmost courtesy. He saluted him by the name of 'Father;' and, though in reality every thing was in his own power, he secured to him the title and the honours of general. This conduct brought over Munatius Plancus, who was at the head of a considerable force at no great distance. Thus Antony was once more extremely powerful, and returned into Italy with seventeen entire legions of foot, and ten thousand horse. Beside these, he left six legions as a garrison in Gaul under the command of Varius, one of his convivial companions, whom they called 'Cotylon'<sup>20</sup>;

Octavius, when he found that Cicero's object was to restore the liberties of the commonwealth, soon abandoned him, and came to an accommodation with Antony. They met, together with Lepidus, in a small river-island<sup>21</sup>, where the conference lasted three days. The empire of the world was divided among them, like a paternal inheritance; and this they found no difficulty in settling. But whom they should kill, and whom they should spare, it was less easy to adjust; while each wished to save his respective friends, and to destroy his enemies. At length,

<sup>20</sup> Or Cotylos (Cic. Phil. v. 2.), from a half-pint bumper, a Greek measure so denominated.

<sup>21</sup> See the Life of Cicero, p. 350.

their resentment against the latter overcame their kindness for the former. Octavius gave up Cicero to Antony, and Antony sacrificed his uncle Lucius Cæsar to Octavius; while Lepidus had the privilege of putting to death his own brother Paulus. Though others say, that Lepidus gave up Paulus to them<sup>22</sup>, on their peremptory requisition. I believe there never was any thing so atrocious, or so execrably savage, as this commerce of blood. For while a friend was given up for an enemy received, the same action murdered at once the friend and the enemy; and the destruction of the former was still more horrible, because it had not even resentment for it's apology.

When this confederacy had taken place, the army desired it might be confirmed by some alliance; and Cæsar therefore was to marry Claudia the daughter of Fulvia, Antony's wife. As soon as this was determined, they marked down those whom they intended to put to death, amounting in number to three hundred. When Cicero was slain, Antony ordered his head, and the hand with which he wrote his Philippics, to be cut off: and, when they were presented to him, he burst into frequent and loud fits of laughter, and exulted at the sight. After he was satiated with looking upon them, he ordered them to be exposed on the Rostra, in the Forum. But this insult on the dead was in fact an abuse of his own good fortune, and of the power, which it had placed in his hands<sup>23</sup>. His uncle Lucius Cæsar, being pursued by his assassins, fled for refuge to his sister: and when the pursuers had broken into the house, and were forcing their way into his chamber, she placed herself at the door, and stretching forth

<sup>22</sup> The former English translator ought not to have omitted this; because it somewhat softens the character of Lepidus, who was certainly the least detestable of the three.

<sup>23</sup> Were there any circumstance in Antony's life, that could be esteemed an instance of true magnanimity, the total want of that virtue in the present instance would prove that such a circumstance was merely accidental.

her hands exclaimed ; “ You shall not murder Lucius Cæsar, till you have first murdered me, the mother of your general.” By these means, she saved her brother.

This triumvirate was most odious to the Romans, but Antony bore the greatest part of the blame ; for he was not only older than Cæsar, and more powerful than Lepidus, but when he was no longer under difficulties, he relapsed into his former irregularities. His abandoned and dissolute manners were the more obnoxious to the people, in consequence of his living in the house of Pompey the Great, a man not less distinguished by his temperance and his modesty, than by the honour of three triumphs. They were mortified to see those doors shut with insolence against magistrates, generals, and ambassadors ; while they were open to players, jugglers, and sottish sycophants, upon whom he spent the principal part of his treasures amassed by cruelty and rapine. The triumvirate, indeed, were by no means scrupulous about the manner, in which they procured their wealth. They seized and sold the estates of those, who had been proscribed, and by false accusations defrauded their widows and orphans. They burthened the people with insupportable impositions ; and being informed that large sums of money, the property both of strangers and citizens, were deposited in the hands of the vestals, they took them away by violence. When Cæsar found that Antony’s covetousness was as boundless as his prodigality, he demanded a division of the treasure. The army, likewise, was divided. Antony and Cæsar went into Macedon against Brutus and Cassius, and the government of Rome was entrusted to Lepidus.

Having encamped in sight of the enemy, Antony opposite to Cassius and Cæsar to Brutus, Cæsar effected nothing extraordinary, but Antony’s efforts were still successful. In the first engagement, Cæsar was defeated by Brutus, his camp was taken, and he himself narrowly escaped by flight ; though in

his Memoirs he informs us that, on account of a dream which happened to one of his friends<sup>24</sup>, he had withdrawn before the battle. At the same time, Cassius was defeated by Antony; and yet some writers affirm, that Antony was not present at the battle, but only joined subsequently in the pursuit. As Cassius knew nothing of Brutus' success, he was killed on his own earnest entreaty by his freedman Pindarus. Another battle was fought soon afterward, in which Brutus was defeated, and in consequence slew himself. Cæsar happened at that time to be sick, and the honour of this victory likewise, of course, devolved in a great measure upon Antony. As he stood over the body of Brutus, he slightly reproached him for the death of his brother Caius, whom in revenge for the assassination of Cicero Brutus had slain in Macedon. It appeared however, that Antony did not impute Caius' death so much to Brutus, as to Hortensius; for he ordered the latter to be slain upon his brother's tomb. He threw his purple robe over Brutus' body, and ordered one of his freedmen to do the honours of his funeral: and upon learning, at a subsequent period, that he had not burnt the robe along with the body, and had retained part of the money which was to have been expended on the ceremony, he commanded him to be executed. After this victory, Cæsar was conveyed to Rome, where it was expected that his distemper would have put an end to his life. Antony, having traversed some of the provinces of Asia for the purpose of raising money, passed with a large army into Grece. Contributions indeed were absolutely necessary, as a gratuity of five thousand drachmas had been promised to every private man.

Antony's behaviour was, at first, very acceptable to the Grecians. He attended the disputes of their logicians, their public diversions, and their religious

<sup>24</sup> His physician. See the Life of Brutus.

ceremonies. He was mild in the administration of justice, and affected to be called ‘the Friend of Greece,’ but particularly ‘the Friend of Athens,’ to which city he made considerable presents. The Megarensians, vying with the Athenians in the exhibition of something curious, invited him to see their senate-house; and when they asked him how he liked it, he told them, “It was little and ruinous.” He took, likewise, the dimensions of the temple of the Pythian Apollo, as if he had intended to repair it; and indeed he promised the senate, that he would.

But when, leaving Lucius Censorinus in Greece, he once more passed into Asia; and enriched himself with the wealth of the country; when his house was the resort of obsequious kings, and queens contended for his favour by their beauty and munificence; then, while Cæsar was harassed with seditions at Rome, Antony once more abandoned himself to luxury, and relapsed into all the dissipations of his former life. The Anaxenors and the Xuthi, the harpers and pipers, Metrodorus the dancer, the whole corps of the Asiatic drama, who far-outdid in buffoonery the poor wretches of Italy—these were the people of the court, the folks that carried all before them. In short, every thing was riot and disorder. And Asia in some measure resembled the city mentioned by Sophocles<sup>25</sup>, that was filled at once with the perfumes of sacrifices, with songs, and with groans.

When Antony entered Ephesus, the women in the dress of Bacchanals, and the men and boys habited like Pan and the satyrs, marched before him. Nothing was to be seen throughout the whole city but ivy-crowns, and spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and pipes, while Antony was hailed by the name of Bacchus;

—————Bacchus ever kind, and free!

<sup>25</sup> Oed. Tyr. i. 4, 5.

And such, indeed, he was to some; but to others, he was ‘Bacchus savage and severe’<sup>26</sup>. He deprived many noble families of their fortunes, and bestowed them upon sycophants and parasites. Many were represented to be dead, who were still living; and commissions were granted to his minions for seizing their estates. He gave his cook the estate of a Magnesian citizen, for having dressed one supper to his taste: but when he laid a double impost upon Asia, Hybreas the agent for the people told him, with a pleasantry agreeable to his humour, that “if he doubled the taxes, he ought to double the seasons too, and supply the people with two summers and two winters.” He added at the same time with a little more acrimony, that, “As Asia had already raised two hundred thousand talents, if he had not received it, he ought to demand it of those who had: but,” said he, “if you have received it, and yet have it not, we are undone.” This sensibly touched him, for he was ignorant of many things transacted under his authority; not that he was indolent, but unsuspecting. He had a simplicity in his nature, without much penetration. But, when he found that faults had been committed, he expressed the greatest concern and acknowledgement to the sufferers. He was prodigal in his rewards, and rigorous in his punishments; but the excess was rather in the former, than the latter. The insulting raillery of his conversation carried its remedy along with it; for he was perfectly liberal in allowing the retort, and gave and took with the same good humour. This, however, had a bad effect upon his affairs. He imagined that those, who treated him freely in conversation, would not be insincere in business: not perceiving that his sycophants were artful in their freedom; using it as a kind of poignant sauce, to prevent the satiety of flattery; and that, by taking these liberties with

\* Omestes and Agrionius were surnames of Bacchus, as well as Charidotes and Melchius.\*

him at table, they were well convinced, when they complied with his opinions in business, that he would think it arose not from complaisance, but from a conviction of his superior judgement.

Such was the frail nature of Antony, when the love of Cleopatra came in to complete his ruin. This awakened every dormant vice, inflamed every guilty passion, and totally extinguished the gleams of remaining honour and virtue. It began in the following manner: When he first set out on his expedition against the Parthians, he sent orders to Cleopatra to meet him in Cilicia, that she might answer some accusations which had been laid against her, of having assisted Cassius in the war. Dellius, who went upon this message, no sooner observed her beauty and learned her art and address, than he concluded that such a woman, instead of having any thing to apprehend from Antony's resentment, would certainly acquire considerable influence over him. He therefore paid his court to the amiable Egyptian, and solicited her to go, as Homer says,

Trick'd in her best attire <sup>27</sup>,

into Cilicia; assuring her, that she had nothing to fear from Antony, who was the kindest and most gallant of generals. Induced by his invitation, and confiding in that beauty, which had before touched the hearts of Cæsar and young Pompey, she entertained no doubt of achieving this third conquest. When Cæsar and Pompey had possessed her favours, she was young and unexperienced; but she was to meet Antony at an age, when beauty in its full perfection had called in the maturity of the understanding to its aid. Prepared therefore with such treasures, ornaments, and presents, as were suitable to the dignity and affluence of her kingdom, but

<sup>27</sup> Hom. Il. xiv. 162. It was thus, that Juno proposed to meet Jupiter, when she had a particular design of inspiring him with love.

chiefly relying upon her personal charms, she set out for Cilicia.

Though she had received many pressing letters of invitation from Antony and his friends, she held him in such contempt, that she by no means took the most expeditious method of travelling. She sailed down the river Cydnus in a most magnificent galley<sup>28</sup>. The stern was covered with gold, the sails were of purple, and the oars were silver. These in their motion kept time to the music of flutes, pipes, and harps. The queen, in the dress and character of Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered with gold of the most exquisite workmanship; while boys, like painted Cupids, stood fanning her on each side of the sofa. Her maids were of the most distinguished beauty, and habited like Nereids and Graces assisted in the steerage and management of the vessel. The fragrance of burning incense was diffused

<sup>28</sup> The Cydnus was a river in Cilicia, whose waters were extremely cold. See the Life of Alexander, IV. 267. For a beautiful description of this luxurious voyage, see Antony's speech in the third act of Dryden's *All for Love*:

Her galley down the silver Cydnus rowed,  
The tacking silk, the streamers waved with gold.  
The gentle winds were lodged in purple sails.  
Her nymphs, like Nereids, round her couch were placed,  
Where she, another sea-born Venus, lay—  
She lay, and lean'd her cheek upon her hand,  
And cast a look so languishingly sweet,  
As if, secure of all beholders' hearts.  
Neglecting she could take them. Boys, like Cupids,  
Stood fanning with their painted wings the winds,  
That play'd about her face: but if she smiled,  
A darting glory seem'd to blaze abroad,  
That men's desiring eyes were never wearied,  
But hung upon the object! To soft flutes  
The silver oars kept time, and while they play'd,  
The hearing gave new pleasure to the sight,  
And both to thought! 'Twas heaven, or somewhat more;  
For she so charm'd all hearts, that gazing crowds  
Stood panting on the shore, and wanted breath  
To give their welcome voice.

For a quaint, but more literal copy from this original, see also Shakspeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, ii. 2.\*



along the shores, which were covered with multitudes of people. Some followed the procession, and such numbers went down from the city to see it, that Antony was at last left alone on the tribunal. A rumour was soon spread, that Venus was come to feast with Bacchus, for the benefit of Asia. Antony sent to invite her to supper : but she thought it his duty to wait upon her ; and to show his politeness on her arrival, he complied. He was astonished at the superiority of the preparations to all, that had been reported of them ; but particularly at the multitude of lights, which were raised or let down together, and disposed in such a variety of square and circular figures, that they afforded one of the most pleasing spectacles ever recorded in history. The day following, Antony invited her to sup with him, and was ambitious to outdo her in the elegance and magnificence of the entertainment. But he was soon convinced, that he fell short of her in both, and was the first to ridicule the meanness and vulgarity of his own banquet. As she found that Antony's humour savoured more of the camp than of the court, she adopted the same coarse system, and played upon him without the least reserve. Such was the variety of her powers in conversation. Her beauty, it is said, was neither astonishing nor inimitable ; but it derived a force from her wit, and the fascination of her manner, which was absolutely irresistible. Her voice was delightfully melodious, and had the same variety of modulations as an instrument of many strings. She spoke most languages ; and there were but few of the foreign ambassadors, whom she answered by an interpreter. She gave audience herself to the Ethiopians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians. Neither were there all the languages, that she understood ; though the kings of Egypt, her predecessors, could hardly ever attain the Egyptian, and some of them forgot even their original Macedonian.

Antony was so wholly engrossed by her charms,

that while his wife Fulvia was maintaining his interest at Rome against Cæsar, and the Parthian forces assembled under the conduct of Labienus in Mesopotamia were ready to enter Syria, she led her amorous captive in triumph to Alexandria. There the veteran warrior fell into every idle excess of puerile amusement, and offered at the shrine of luxury, what Antipho pronounces "the greatest of all sacrifices," the sacrifice of time. This mode of life, they called 'the inimitable.' They visited each other, alternately, every day; and the profusion of their entertainments is almost incredible. Philotas a physician of Amphissa, who was at that time pursuing his studies in Alexandria, told my grandfather Lamprias, that being acquainted with one of Antony's cooks, he was invited to see the preparations for supper. When he came into the kitchen, beside an infinite variety of other provisions, he observed eight wild-boars roasting whole, and expressed his surprise at the number of the company, for whom this enormous provision was intended. The cook laughed, and said, that the company did not exceed twelve; but that as every dish was to be roasted to a single turn, and as Antony was uncertain with regard to the precise time when he should sup, particularly if an extraordinary bottle or an extraordinary vein of conversation was going round, it was necessary to have a succession of suppers. Philotas added, that being subsequently in the service of Antony's eldest son by Fulvia, he was admitted to sup with him, when he did not sup with his father; and it once happened that, another physician at table having tired the company with his noise and impertinence, he silenced him with the following sophism:

"There are some degrees of a fever, in which  
 " cold water is good for a man:

Every man, who has a fever, has it in some degree:

“ Therefore, cold water is good for every man in  
“ a fever.”

With this syllogism the man was struck dumb : and Antony’s son, who enjoyed his distress, to reward Philotas for his good offices, pointing to a magnificent side-board of plate, said ; “ All that, Philotas, is  
“ yours !” Philotas acknowledged the kind offer, but thought it too much for such a boy to bestow. And afterward when a servant brought the plate to him in a chest, that he might put his seal upon it, he refused, and was indeed afraid to accept it : upon which the servant said, “ What are you afraid of ?  
“ Don’t you consider that this is a present from the  
“ son of Antony, who could easily give you it’s  
“ weight in gold ? I would recommend it to you,  
“ however, to take the value of it in money. In  
“ this plate there may be some curious pieces of  
“ ancient workmanship, which Antony might re-  
“ gret<sup>29</sup>.” Such are the anecdotes, which my grand-  
father told me he had from Philotas.

Cleopatra was not limited to Plato’s four kinds of flattery<sup>30</sup>. She had an infinite variety of it. Whether Antony were in the gay, or the serious humour, she was always prepared with something for his amusement. She was with him night and day. She gamed, she drank, she hunted, she reviewed with him. In his night-rambles, when he was reconnoitring the doors and windows of the citizens, and throwing out his jests upon them, she attended him in the habit of a servant, which he also upon such occasions affected to wear. From these expeditions he frequently returned a sufferer, both in person and character. But though some of the Alexandrians were displeased at this whimsical humour, others enjoyed it, and observed, “ That Antony presented

<sup>29</sup> To the expenses incurred in collections of this kind frequent allusions are made by the classic writers, as in Cic. Verr., Hor. Sat. ii. 3., &c. Antony had an enormous quantity of such curiosities.\*

<sup>30</sup> See his Gorgias.

“ his comic parts in Alexandria, and reserved the “ tragic for Rome.” To mention all his follies, would be to trifle too much ; but his fishing story must not be omitted. He was a-fishing one day with Cleopatra, and had ill success, which in his mistress’ presence he considered as disgraceful ; he, therefore, ordered one of the assistants to dive, and put upon his hook such as had been taken before. This scheme he practised three or four times, and Cleopatra detected it. She affected however to be surprised at his success, expressed her wonder to the people about her, and the day following invited them to come and see fresh proofs of it. Accordingly, the vessel was crowded with people ; and, on Antony’s letting down his line, she ordered one of her divers instantly to put a salt fish upon his hook. When Antony found that he had caught his fish, he drew up his line ; and this, as it may be supposed, occasioned no small mirth among the spectators. “ Go, “ general !” said Cleopatra, “ leave fishing to us “ petty princes of Pharos and Canopus ; your game “ is cities, kingdoms, and provinces<sup>31</sup>.”

In the midst of these scenes of festivity and dissipation, Antony received two unfavourable messages ; one from Rome, that his wife Fulvia and his brother Lucius, after long dissensions between themselves, having joined to oppose Cæsar, had been overpowered and obliged to fly out of Italy : the other, that Labienus and the Parthians had reduced Asia, from Syria and the Euphrates to Lydia and Ionia. It was with difficulty, that even this dispelled his lethargy. Rousing himself however at length, and literally waking from a fit of intoxication, he set out against the Parthians, and proceeded as far as

<sup>31</sup> Cleopatra’s expression has somewhat of the same turn with Virgil’s

*Excedent alii spirantia mollius æra !—*

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.*

(Æn. vi. 848. 852.)

N. B. Virgil was at this very time writing his *Æneid*.

Phoenicia. But, upon the receipt of some very moving letters from Fulvia, he turned his course with two hundred ships towards Italy. Such of his friends, as had fled thence, he received; and from them he learnt, that Fulvia had been the principal cause of the disturbances in Rome. Her disposition had a natural tendency to violence and discord, and upon this occasion it had been abetted by jealousy; for she expected, that the disorders of Italy would call Antony from the arms of Cleopatra. That unhappy woman died at Sicily, on her way to meet her husband.

This event furnished an opportunity for a reconciliation with Cæsar. For when upon Antony's arrival in Italy, Cæsar instead of expressing resentment against him, threw the whole blame upon Fulvia, their respective friends interfered, and brought them to an accommodation. The east within the boundaries of the Ionian sea was given to Antony, the west to Cæsar, and Lepidus had Africa. Whenever they did not accept the consulship themselves, they were to dispose of it in their turns, as they thought proper.

These matters settled, they concerted means of securing this union, which fortune had set on foot. Cæsar had a sister older than himself, named Octavia, but they were born of different mothers. Octavia's mother was Ancharia, and Cæsar's Attia. For this sister he had an uncommon affection, and she was indeed a woman of extraordinary merit. She had been already married to Caius Marcellus, but had recently buried her husband; and, as Antony had lost his wife, there was an opening for a fresh union. His connexion with Cleopatra he did not affect to deny, but he positively declared that he was not married to her; and in this circumstance, it must be owned, his prudence prevailed over his love. His marriage with Octavia was universally wished. It was the general hope, that a woman of her beauty and distinguished virtues would acquire such an

influence over him, as might eventually preserve and harmonise the state. Conditions being mutually agreed upon, they proceeded to solemnise the nuptials at Rome; the law, which permits no widow to marry till the expiration of ten months after her husband's decease, being dispensed with by the senate.

Sextus the son of Pompey, who was then in possession of Sicily, had not only made great ravages in Italy, but had covered the sea with such a number of piratical vessels, under the command of Menas and Menecrates, that it was no longer safe for other ships to pass. He had favoured Antony, however, in giving his mother and his wife Fulvia a kind reception, when they were obliged to fly from Rome. It was judged proper, therefore, to accommodate matters with him; and, for this purpose, a meeting was held at the promontory of Misenum, by the mole that runs into the sea. Pompey was attended by his fleet, Antony and Cæsar by an army of foot. At this interview it was arranged, that Pompey should keep Sicily and Sardinia, on condition of clearing the sea from pirates, and sending a certain quantity of corn to Rome. These things being agreed upon, they mutually invited each other to supper; when it fell to Pompey's lot, to give the first entertainment. On Antony asking him, where they should sup; "There," said he, pointing to the admiral-galley of six oars, "that is the only mansion left to Pompey:" implying a sarcasm upon Antony, who was at that time in possession of his father's house. He entertained them however very politely, after conducting them over a bridge from the promontory to the ship, that rode at anchor. During the banquet, while the raillery ran briskly on Antony and Cleopatra, Menas came to Pompey, and told him secretly, that if he would permit him to cut the cable, he would make him master not only of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire. Pompey, after a moment's deliberation, replied that he should have done it without consulting him: "We

"must now let it alone," said he, "for I cannot break my oath of treaty." The compliment of the entertainment was returned by his guests, and he then retired to Sicily.

Antony, after the accommodation, sent Ventidius into Asia, to stop the progress of the Parthians. All matters of public administration were conducted with the happiest harmony between him and Octavius: and, in compliment to the latter, he took upon himself the office of high-priest to Cæsar the dictator<sup>32</sup>. But, alas! in their contests at play, Cæsar was generally superior, and Antony was mortified. He kept in his house a fortune-telling Ægyptian, who was skilled in the calculation of nati- vities. This man, either to oblige Cleopatra or fol- lowing the investigation of truth, told Antony that the star of his fortune, however glorious in itself, was eclipsed and obscured by Cæsar's, and advised him by all means to keep at the greatest distance from that young man. "The genius of your life," said he, "is afraid of his<sup>33</sup>; by itself, it's port is erect and fearless; but, when his approaches, it is dejected and depressed." There were many cir- cumstances, indeed, which seemed to justify the conjuror's doctrine: for in every kind of play, whe- ther they cast lots or dice, Antony was still the loser. In their cock and quail-fights, it was still Cæsar's cock, and Cæsar's quail. These things, co-operating with the Ægyptian's observations, had such an effect upon Antony, that he relinquished the management of his domestic affairs to Cæsar, and left Italy. Octavia, who had by this time brought him a daughter, he took with him into Greece. The winter he spent in Athens; and there he learned, that his affairs in Asia under Ventidius were success- ful: that the Parthians had been routed, and that

<sup>32</sup> See Dio, xliv. 6.\*

<sup>33</sup> And under him (Banquo) my genius is rebuked,  
As (it is said) Mark Antony's was by Cæsar. (Macb. iii. 1.)\*

Labienus and Pharnapates, the ablest generals of Orodes, had fallen in the battle. In honour of this victory, he gave an entertainment to the Greeks, and treated the Athenians with an exhibition of the gymnastic games, in which he himself took the president's part. The robes and ensigns of the general were laid aside; the rods, the cloke, and the slippers of the gymnasiarch were assumed; and, when the combatants had fought sufficiently, he parted them himself.

When he went to the war, he carried with him a crown of the sacred olive<sup>34</sup>, and by the direction of some oracle or other, a vessel of water filled out of the Clepsydra<sup>35</sup>. In the mean time Pacorus, son of the king of Parthia, made an incursion into Syria, but was routed by Ventidius in Cyrrestica, and with the chief part of his army fell in the battle. This celebrated victory made ample amends for the defeat of Crassus. The Parthians had now been thrice conquered, and were confined within the bounds of Media and Mesopotamia. Ventidius would not pursue them any farther, lest he should excite the envy of Antony; he therefore turned his arms against the revolvers, and brought them back to their duty. Among these was Antiochus, the king of Commagene, whom he besieged in the city of Samosata. That prince at first offered to pay a thousand talents, and to submit himself to the Roman empire: upon which Ventidius told him, that he must send his proposals to Antony, for he was then at no great distance; and he had forborne commissioning Ventidius to make peace with Antiochus, that something

<sup>34</sup> This was carefully preserved in the citadel, and was supposed to have sprung up, when Minerva disputed with Neptune the honour of giving a name to Athens.\*

<sup>35</sup> The Clepsydra was a fountain belonging to the citadel at Athens; so called, because it was full of water when the Etesian winds began to blow, and empty when they ceased. (L.) There was a similar one at Delos. As an artificial instrument, the Clepsydra was a graduated vessel filled with water, to measure time by its efflux in courts of law, &c.\*



at least might be done in his own name, and not every thing by his lieutenant. But while the siege was thus prolonged, and the people of Samosata despaired of obtaining terms, that very despair produced a degree of courage, which defeated every effort of the besiegers; and Antony was, at last, reduced to the disgraceful necessity of accepting three hundred talents.

After he had done some little toward settling the affairs of Syria, he returned to Athens, and sent Ventidius to Rome, to enjoy the reward of his merit in a triumph. He was the only general, that ever triumphed over the Parthians. Of humble extraction, by his connexion with Antony he was raised to high appointments; and by making the best use of them, he confirmed what had been said both of Antony and Octavius Cæsar, that they were more successful by their lieutenants, than when they commanded in person. This observation, with regard to Antony in particular, might be justified by the successes of Sossius and Canidius. The former had achieved great things in Syria: and the latter, whom he left in Armenia, after having reduced the whole country; and defeated the kings of Iberia and Albania, had penetrated as far as Mount Caucasus, and spread the terror of Antony's name and power throughout those barbarous nations.

Soon after this, upon hearing some disagreeable reports concerning the designs or the conduct of Cæsar, he sailed for Italy with a fleet of three hundred ships; and, being refused admittance into the harbour of Brundisium, he made for Tarentum. There he was prevailed upon by his wife Octavia, who accompanied him, and was then a third time pregnant, to send her to her brother; and she fortunately met him on her journey, attended by his two friends Mæcenas and Agrippa. In conference with him, she entreated him to consider the peculiarity of her situation, and not to make the happiest woman in the world the most unfortunate: "The

“ eyes of all,” said she, “ are necessarily turned  
“ upon me, who am the wife of Antony and the  
“ sister of Cæsar; and should these chiefs of the  
“ empire, misled by hasty counsels, involve the  
“ whole in war, whatever may be the event, for me  
“ it will be most unhappy.” By these entreaties  
Cæsar was softened, and proceeded with peaceable  
views to Tarentum. His arrival afforded a general  
satisfaction to the people. They were delighted to  
see such an army on the shore, and such a fleet in  
the harbour, mutually disposed for peace, and no-  
thing but compliments and expressions of kindness  
passing between the generals. Antony first invited  
Cæsar to sup with him, and in compliment to Octa-  
via he accepted the invitation. At length it was  
agreed, that Cæsar should give up to Antony two  
legions for the Parthian service; and that Antony,  
in return, should leave a hundred armed galleys with  
Cæsar. Octavia moreover engaged Antony to  
resign twenty light ships to Cæsar, and procured  
from her brother a thousand foot for her husband.  
Matters being thus accommodated, Cæsar went to  
war with Pompey for the recovery of Sicily; and  
Antony, entrusting to his protection his wife and  
his children, both by his present and his former  
marriage, sailed for Asia.

Upon his approach to Syria, the love of Cleopatra,  
which had so long lain dormant in his heart, and  
which better counsels seemed totally to have sup-  
pressed, revived and took possession of his soul.  
The unruly steed, to which Plato<sup>36</sup> compares cer-  
tain passions, once more broke loose; and in spite  
of honour, interest, and prudence, Antony des-  
patched Fonteius Capito to conduct Cleopatra into  
Syria.

<sup>36</sup> Plutarch here alludes to that passage in Plato (Phæd.),  
where he compares the soul to a winged chariot with two horses  
and a charioteer. One of these horses is mischievous and unruly,  
the other gentle and tractable. The charioteer is Reason: the  
unruly horse denotes the Concupiscent, and the tractable one the  
Irrascible part.

Upon her arrival, he made her the most magnificent presents. He gave her the provinces of Phœnicia, Cœlosyria, Cyprus, great part of Cilicia, that district of Judæa which produces the balm<sup>37</sup>, and the part of Arabia Nabathæa bordering upon the ocean. These extravagant gifts displeased the Romans: for though he had often conferred on private persons considerable governments and kingdoms, deprived many princes of their dominions, and beheaded Antigonus of Judæa, the first king who ever suffered in such a manner, yet nothing so much disturbed the Romans, as his enormous profusion in favour of that woman. Neither were they less offended at his bestowing the surnames of the Sun and the Moon upon the twins, Alexander and Cleopatra, whom he had by her.

But Antony knew well how to varnish the most disreputable actions. The greatness of the Roman empire, he said, appeared more in giving, than in receiving kingdoms; and that it was proper for persons of high birth and station to extend and secure their nobility, by leaving children and successors born of different princes; that his ancestor Hercules did not trust to the fertility of one woman, as if he had feared the penalties annexed to the law of Solon, but by various connexions with the sex became the founder of many families.

After Orodes was slain by his son Phraates<sup>39</sup>, who took possession of the kingdom, many of the Parthian chiefs fled to Antony; and among the rest Moneses, a man of great dignity and power. An-

<sup>37</sup> Near the lake of Genesareth, and bordering on the territory of Damascus.\*

<sup>38</sup> Dion informs us (xliv. 22.) that Antigonus was first tied to a stake, and whipped; and that, afterward, his throat was cut. *Ἀποφύξας*, and not *παραφύξας*, is the word he uses. Livy says, *Deligati ad palmam, virgisque cæsi, et securi percussi*. (L.) Antigonus, however, was not king of Judæa, but under the name of high-priest had usurped the royal authority. This execution took place about B. C. 37, or 38.\*

<sup>39</sup> The Phraates mentioned by Horace, *Od.* II. ii. 17.

*Redditum Cyri solio Phraatem.*

tony thinking that Moneses in his fortune resembled Themistocles, and comparing his own wealth and magnificence with that of the Persian kings, gave him three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, which was before called Bombyce. But, when Phraates sent Moneses assurances of his safety, he readily dismissed him. Upon this occasion, he formed a scheme to deceive Phraates. He pretended a disposition for peace, and required only that the Roman standards and ensigns which had been taken on Crassus' defeat, and such of the prisoners as still survived, might be restored. Cleopatra he sent into Egypt; after which he marched through Arabia and Armenia, where as soon as his own troops were joined by the allies, he reviewed his army. Of the various princes confederated with him, the most powerful was Artavasdes king of Armenia, who furnished six thousand horse and seven thousand foot. At this review there appeared sixty thousand Roman foot, and ten thousand horse, who though chiefly Gauls and Spaniards, were reckoned as Romans. \*The number of the allies, including the light-armed and the cavalry, amounted to thirty thousand.

This formidable armament, which struck terror into the Indians beyond Bactria, and alarmed all Asia, his attachment to Cleopatra rendered perfectly useless. His anxiety to spend the winter in her arms made him take the field too early in the season, and precipitated all his measures. As a man under the power of enchantment can only act by the impulse of the magic, his longing eye was continually drawn toward Cleopatra, and to return to her was a greater object than to conquer the world. He ought certainly to have wintered in Armenia, that he might give a proper respite and refreshment to his men, after a march of a thousand miles. In the early part of the spring, he should have made himself master of Media, before the Parthian troops were drawn out of garrison: but his impatience hurried him to

the march, and passing by Armenia on the left he traversed the province of Atropatene, and laid waste the country. In his haste, he left behind him the battering engines, among which was a ram eighty feet long, and these followed the camp on three hundred carriages. Had they met with any damage, it would have been impossible to repair them in this upper part of Asia, where there is no timber of height or strength sufficient for the purpose. They were brought after him, however, under the conduct of Tatianus. He himself laid siege to the large city of Phraata, the residence of the king of Media's wives and children. Here he perceived his error in having left the engines behind, as for want of them he was obliged to throw up a mount against the wall, which required considerable time and labour.

In the mean time, Phraates advanced with a numerous army; and being informed that Antony had left behind him his machines, he sent a large detachment to intercept them. This party fell upon Tatianus, who with ten thousand of his men were slain upon the spot: many were taken prisoners, among the rest king Polemo, and the machines were seized by the enemy and destroyed.

This miscarriage greatly discouraged the army; and Artavasdes, though he had been the promoter of the war, withdrew his forces in despair. The Parthians on the other hand, elated by their success, came up to the Romans while they were employed in the siege, and treated them with the most insolent menaces and contempt. Antony, who knew that despair and timidity would be the consequence of inaction, led out ten legions, three prætorian cohorts heavy-armed, and the whole body of cavalry on the business of foraging. He was persuaded, at the same time, that this was the only method of drawing the enemy after him, and bringing them to a battle. After one day's progress, he observed the enemy in motion, and watching an opportunity of falling upon him in his march. Upon this, he set up in his camp

the signal for battle, but at the same time struck his tents, as if his intention had been not to fight but to retire. Accordingly, he passed the army of the barbarians, which was drawn up in form of a crescent; but he had previously directed the horse to charge the enemy at full speed, as soon as their ranks were within reach of the legionary troops. The Parthians were astonished at the order of the Roman army, as they observed them pass at regular intervals without confusion, and brandish their pikes in silence.

When the signal was given for battle, the horse turned short, and fell with loud shouts upon the enemy. The Parthians received the attack with firmness, though they were too near them for the use of their bows. But when the infantry came to the charge, their shouts and the clashing of their arms so frightened the enemy's horses, that they were no longer manageable, and the Parthians fled without once engaging. Antony pursued them closely, in hopes that this action would in a great measure terminate the war. But when the infantry had followed them fifty furlongs, and the cavalry at least an hundred and fifty, he found that he had not slain above eighty of the enemy, and that only thirty were taken prisoners. Thus the trifling advantage of their victories, and the heavy loss of their defeats, as in the recent instance of the carriages, was a fresh discouragement to the Romans.

The day following, they returned with their baggage to the trenches before Phraata. In their march they met with some straggling troops of the enemy, afterward with larger parties, and at last with the whole body; which having easily rallied, appeared like a fresh army, and harassed them in such a manner, that it was with difficulty they reached their camp.

The Median garrison, in the absence of Antony, had made a sally; and those, who had been left to defend the mount, had quitted their post and fled. Antony, on his return, punished the fugitives by

decimation: that is, he divided them into tens; and in each division put one, upon whom the lot happened to fall, to death. Those, that escaped, received their allowance in barley instead of wheat.

Both parties now found their present inconveniences in the war, and the future was still more alarming. Antony had the dread of famine before him, for he could not forage without a terrible loss of men; and Phraates knowing the temper of the Parthians was apprehensive that, if the Romans persisted in carrying on the siege, as soon as the autumnal equinox was passed and the winter set in, he should be deserted by his army, which would not at that time endure the open field. In order to prevent this, he had recourse to stratagem. He directed his officers not to pursue the Romans too closely, when they were foraging, but to permit them to carry off provisions; commanding them at the same time to compliment them on their valour, and to express his high opinion of the Roman bravery. They were instructed likewise, as opportunity might offer, to blame Antony's obstinacy in exposing to the severities of famine and a winter-campaign so many brave men, who must suffer of course, notwithstanding all the Parthians could do for them.

Antony, upon hearing reports of this kind from many quarters, began to conceive hopes; but he would not offer any terms, before he was satisfied whether or not they came originally from the king. The enemy assured him, that such were the sentiments of Phraates; and being induced to believe them, he sent some of his friends to demand the standards and prisoners, which had fallen into their hands on Crassus' defeat; thinking, if he demanded nothing, it might appear that he was pleased with the privilege of retreating. The Parthian answered, that the standards and prisoners could not be restored; but that Antony, if he would set off immediately, was at liberty to retreat in safety.

After some few days spent in making up the bag-

rage, he began his march. Upon this occasion, though he had the happiest eloquence in addressing his soldiers, and reconciling them to every situation and event; yet, whether it was through shame or sorrow, or both, he left that office to Domitius Ænobarbus. Some of them were offended at this, as an act of contempt: but the chief part understood the cause, and pitying their general, paid him still higher respect and attention.

Antony had determined to take his route through a plain and open country; but a certain Mardian<sup>40</sup>, who was well acquainted with the practices of the Parthians, and had approved his faith to the Romans at the battle when the machines were lost, advised him to take the mountains on his right, and not expose his heavy-armed troops in an open country to the attacks of the Parthian bowmen and cavalry. Phraates, he said, amused him with fair promises, merely to draw him off from the siege; but, if he would accept him for his guide, he would conduct him by a way that was nearer, and better furnished with necessaries. Antony deliberated some time upon this. He would not appear to doubt the honour of the Parthians, after the truce which they had agreed to; and yet he could not but approve of a way, which was shorter, and which lay through an inhabited country. At last, he required the necessary pledges of the Mardian's faith; which he gave, in suffering himself to be bound, till he should have conducted the army into Armenia. In this condition, he led the Romans peaceably along for two days: but on the third, when Antony, expecting nothing less than the Parthians, was marching forward in disorderly security, the Mardian observing the mounds of a river broken down, and the waters let out into the plain where they were to pass, concluded that the

<sup>40</sup> The Mardians were a people of Media, on the confines of Persia. (Strabo, xi.)\*



Parthians had done this to retard their march, and advised Antony to be upon his guard; as the enemy, he assured him, was at no great distance. While Antony was drawing up his men, and preparing such of them as were armed with darts and slings to make a sally against the enemy, they came upon him, and surrounding his army harassed it on every part. The light-armed Romans indeed made an incursion upon them, and galling them with their missive weapons, obliged them to retreat; but they soon returned to the charge, till a band of the Gaulish cavalry attacked and dispersed them, so that they appeared no more that day.

Antony, upon this, discovered what measures he was to take; and covering both wings and the rear with such troops, as were armed with missive weapons, marched his army in the form of a square. The cavalry had orders to repel the attacks of the enemy, but not to pursue them to any distance. The Parthians of course, when in four successive days they could make no considerable impression, and found themselves equally annoyed in their turn, grew more remiss, and alleging the winter-season as an excuse, began to meditate a retreat. Upon the fifth day, Flavius Gallus, a general officer of great courage and activity, requested Antony to indulge him with a number of light-armed troops from the rear, together with a few horse from the front; and with these he proposed to achieve some notable exploit. These he obtained, and in repelling the attacks of the Parthians, he did not (like the rest) retreat by degrees toward the body of the army, but maintained his ground, and fought rather on the offensive than on the defensive. The officers of the rear observing that he was separated from the rest, sent to recall him, but he did not obey the summons. It is said, however, that Titius the quæstor turned back the standards and inveighed against Gallus for leading so many brave men to destruction. Gallus, on the other hand, retorted his reproaches; and

commanding those who were about him to stand, Titius retreated alone. Gallus had no sooner made an impression on the enemy's front, than he was surrounded. In this distress, he sent for assistance; and here the general officers, and Canidius the favourite of Antony among the rest, committed a capital error. Instead of leading the whole army against the Parthians, as soon as one detachment was overpowered, they sent another to it's support<sup>41</sup>; and thus by degrees they would have sacrificed the principal part of the troops, had not Antony come hastily from the front with the heavy-armed, and urging on the third legion through the midst of the fugitives, stopped the enemy's pursuit.

In this action not fewer than three thousand were slain, and five thousand brought back wounded to the camp. Among the latter was Gallus, who had four arrows shot through his body, and soon afterward died of his wounds. Antony visited all, who had suffered upon this unhappy occasion, and consoled them with tears of real grief and affection: while the wounded soldiers, embracing the hand of their general, entreated him not to attend to their sufferings, but to his own health and quiet; "While our general is safe, all (said they) is well." It is certain, that there was not in those days braver men or a finer army. The men were tall, stout, able, and willing to endure the severest toils. Their respect, and ready obedience, to their general, were wonderful. There was not a man in the army, from the first officer to the meanest soldier, who would not have preferred the favour of Antony to his own life and safety. In all these regards, they were at least equal to the armies of ancient Rome. A variety of causes, as we have observed, concurred to produce this: Antony's noble birth, his eloquence, his candour, his liberality and magnificence, and the familiar pleasantry of his conversation. These were the

<sup>41</sup> *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.* (Tac. Agric. 12.)\*

general grounds of the affection, which he found in his army; and upon this particular occasion, his sympathising with the wounded, and attending to their wants, made them totally forget their sufferings.

The Parthians, who had before begun to languish in their operations, were so much elevated by this advantage, and held the Romans in such contempt, that they even spent the night by their camp, in hopes of seizing the baggage while they deserted their tents. At break of day, numbers more came up, to the amount (as it is said) of forty thousand horse; for the Parthian king had despatched even his body-guard, so confident was he of absolute victory; as for himself, he never was present at any engagement.

Antony, being now to address his soldiers, called for mourning-apparel, that his speech might be more affecting; but, his friends not permitting him to wear this, he appeared in his general's robe. Those who had been victorious he praised, those who had fled he reproached: the former encouraged him by every testimony of their zeal; the latter, offering themselves either to decimation, or any other kind of punishment which he might think proper to inflict upon them, besought him to forego his sorrow and concern. Upon this, he raised his hands to heaven, and prayed to the gods; "That if his happier fortune was to be followed by future evil, it might affect only himself, and that his army might be safe and victorious."

The day following, they marched out in better and firmer order; and the Parthians, who thought they had nothing to do but to plunder, when they saw their enemy in fresh spirits and in a capacity for renewing the engagement, were extremely disconcerted. They fell upon the Romans however from the adjacent declivities, and galled them with their arrows, as they were marching slowly forward. Against these attacks the light-armed troops were

covered by the legionaries, who placing one knee upon the ground, received the arrows on their shields. The rank, which was behind, covered that which was before, in a regular gradation; so that this curious fortification, which effectually defended them from the enemy's arrows, resembled the roof of a house.

The Parthians, who thought that the Romans rested on their knees only through weariness and fatigue, threw away their bows, and came to close engagement with their spears<sup>42</sup>. Upon this the Romans leaped up with a loud shout, slew with their pikes those who came first to the attack, and put all the rest to flight. This method of attack and defence being repeated every day, they made but little progress in their march, and were besides distressed for want of provisions; they could not forage without fighting; the corn which they could get was but little, and even that they had not instruments to grind. The greatest part of them had been left behind; for many of their beasts of burthen were dead, and many employed in carrying the sick and wounded. It is said, that an Attic choenix of wheat was sold for fifty drachmas, and a barley-loaf for its weight in silver. Those, who sought for roots and pot-herbs, found few that they had been accustomed to; and in tasting unknown herbs they met with one, which brought on madness and death. The eater immediately lost all memory and knowledge; busying himself at the same time in turning and moving every stone he met with, as if he were upon some very important pursuit. The camp was full of unhappy men stooping to the ground, and digging up and removing stones, till at last they were carried off by a bilious vomiting; when wine<sup>43</sup>, the only remedy,

<sup>42</sup> These consisted of a wooden shaft of five feet long, pointed with iron of nearly half that length.

<sup>43</sup> The ancients held wine to be a remedy against vomiting: *Præterea vomitiones sistit.* (Plin. H. N. xxiii. 1.) It was, likewise, esteemed good against many kinds of poison. *Merum est contra cicutam, aconita, et omnia quæ refrigerant, remedium.* (Ib.)

was not to be had. Thus while numbers perished, and the Parthians still continued to harass them, Antony is said frequently to have exclaimed, "O the " ten thousand!" alluding to the army which Xenophon led from Babylon both a longer way<sup>44</sup>, and through more numerous conflicts, and yet led in safety.

The Parthians, when they found that they could not break through the Roman ranks, nor throw them into disorder, but were frequently beaten in their attacks, began once more to treat their foragers in a peaceable manner. They showed them their bows unstrung, and informed them that they had given up the pursuit, and were about to depart. A few Medes, they said, might continue to follow them a day or two longer, but they would give the Romans no trouble, as their only purpose was to protect some of the remoter villages. These professions were accompanied with many kind salutations and civilities, insomuch that the Romans conceived fresh spirits; and, because the way over the mountains was represented as destitute of water, Antony was once more desirous of taking his route through the plains. When he was about to carry this scheme into execution, one Mithridates, cousin to that Moneses who had formerly sought his protection and been presented by him with three cities, came from the enemy's camp, and desired permission to speak with some one that understood the Syrian or the Parthian language. Alexander of Antioch, a friend of Antony's, went out to him; and after the Parthian had informed him who he was, and attributed his coming to the kindness shown to Moneses, he asked him, whether he did not see at an immense distance before him a range of high hills; "Under " those hills," said he "the whole Parthian army " lies in ambuscade for you; for at the foot of the

<sup>44</sup> When Plutarch says, that Xenophon led his ten thousand a longer way, he must mean to terminate Antony's march with Armenia.

“ mountains is a spacious plain ; and there when,  
“ deluded by their artifices, you have left the way  
“ across the heights, they expect to find you. In  
“ the mountain-roads, indeed, you have thirst and  
“ toil to contend with as usual ; but, should Antony  
“ take the plains, he must expect Crassus’ fate.”

After he had given this information, he departed ; and Antony immediately assembled the council, and among the rest his Mardian guide, who concurred with the Parthian in his suggestions. The way over the plains, he said, was hardly practicable, were there no enemy to contend with. The windings were long and tedious, and difficult to be made out. The rugged road across the mountains, on the contrary, had no other difficulty in it, than to endure thirst for a single day. Antony therefore changed his mind, and ordering each man to carry some water along with him, took the mountain-road by night. As there was not a sufficient number of vessels, some conveyed their water in helmets, and others in bladders.

The Parthians were informed of Antony’s motions, and contrary to custom pursued him in the night. About sun-rise, they came up with the rear, weary as it was with toil and watching ; for that night they had travelled thirty miles. In this condition they had to contend with an unexpected enemy, and being at once obliged to fight and to continue their march, their thirst became still more insupportable. At last the front came up to a river, the water of which was cool and clear, but being salt and acrimonious occasioned a pain in the stomach and bowels, heated and inflamed with thirst. The Mardian guide had, indeed, forewarned them of this ; but the poor fellows, breaking from those who would have prevented them, drank eagerly of the stream. Antony, running among the ranks, entreated them to forbear but a little. He told them, there was another river at no great distance, the water of which might be drank with safety, and that

the way was so extremely rocky and uneven, that it was impossible for the enemy's cavalry to pursue. At the same time he sounded a retreat, to call off such as were engaged with the enemy, and gave the signal for pitching their tents, that they might at least have the convenience of shade.

While their tents were fixing, and the Parthians as usual retiring from the pursuit, Mithridates came again; and Alexander being sent out to him, he advised that the Romans after a little rest should rise and make for the river, because the Parthians did not propose to carry their pursuit beyond it. Alexander reported this to Antony, and Mithridates being presented with as many phials and cups of gold as he could conceal in his garments, once more left the camp. Antony while it was yet day, struck his tents, and marched unmolested by the enemy. But so dreadful and alarming a night as followed, he had never passed. Those who were known to be possessed of gold or silver were slain and plundered, and the money conveyed in the baggage was carried off. Last of all, his own baggage was seized, and the richest bowls and tables were cut asunder and divided among the pillagers. The greatest terror and distraction pervaded the whole army, for it was concluded that the inroads of the enemy had occasioned this flight and confusion. Antony sent for one of his freedmen called Rhamnus, and made him swear that he would stab him and cut off his head, whenever he should command him; that he might neither fall alive into the hands of the enemy, nor be known when dead. While his friends were weeping around him, the Mardian guide gave him some encouragement, by assuring him that the river was at hand, as he could perceive from the cool freshness of the air issuing from it, and that of course the troubles of his journey would soon be at an end, as the night nearly was. At the same time, he was informed that all these disorders had been occasioned by the avarice of the soldiers; and

he therefore made the signal for encamping, that he might rectify his discomposed and scattered army<sup>45</sup>.

It was now day-light, and as soon as the troops were brought to a little order, the Parthians once more began to harass the rear. The signal was therefore given to the light-troops to engage, and the heavy armed received the arrows under a roof of shields as before. The Parthians however durst not come any more to close engagement, and when the front had advanced a little farther, the river was in sight. Antony first drew up the cavalry on the bank opposite the enemy, and carried over his weak and wounded. The combat was now at an end, and the thirsty could enjoy their water in quiet. At sight of the river, the Parthians unstrung their bows, and with the highest encomiums on their bravery, bade their enemies cross it in peace. They did so, and after the necessary refreshments, without much confidence in the Parthian praises, proceeded on their march. Within six days from the last battle they arrived at the river Araxes, which divides Media from Armenia. This river, on account of the depth and strength of it's current, seemed difficult to pass; and a rumour moreover ran through the army, that the enemy was there in ambuscade, to attack them as they forded it. They crossed it however in safety, and when they set foot in Armenia with the avidity of mariners on first coming a-shore, they kissed the ground in adoration, and embraced each other with a pleasure that could only express itself in tears.

<sup>45</sup> Plutarch does not, in this place, appear to have been sufficiently informed. The cause of this tumult in the army could not be the avarice of the soldiers alone, since that might have operated long before, and at a time when they were capable of enjoying money. Their object now was the preservation of life; and it was not wealth, but water, that they wanted. We must look for the cause of this disorder then in some other circumstance, and that probably was the report of their general's despair, or possibly of his death; for, otherwise, they would hardly have plundered his baggage. The fidelity and affection, which they had shown him in all their distresses, afford a sufficient argument on this behalf.



The ill consequences of their former extremities, however, discovered themselves even here; for, as they now passed through a country of plenty and profusion, their too great indulgences threw them into the dropsy and the cholic. Antony, on reviewing his army, found that he had lost twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, more than half of whom had died not in battle, but by sickness. They had been twenty-seven days in their return from Phraata, and had beaten the Parthians in eighteen engagements; but these victories had been by no means complete, because they could not follow up their advantages by pursuit.

Hence it is evident, that Artavasdes deprived Antony of the fruits of his Parthian expedition: for had he been assisted by the sixteen<sup>46</sup> thousand horse, which he carried with him out of Media (armed as they were like the Parthians, and accustomed to fight with them) after the Romans had beaten them in set battles, this cavalry might have taken up the pursuit, and harassed them in such a manner, that they could not so often have rallied and returned to the charge. Every one, therefore, stimulated Antony to revenge himself on Artavasdes. But he adopted better counsels, and in his present weak and indigent condition chose neither to complain of his treachery, nor to withhold the usual respect and honours which he had paid him. But when he came into Armenia upon another occasion, after having drawn him to a meeting by fair promises and invitations, he seized and carried him bound to Alexandria, where he led him in triumphal procession. The Romans were offended at this triumph, and at Antony himself, who had thus for Cleopatra's gratification transferred the principal honours of their country to Egypt. These things, however, happened in a later period of Antony's life.

The severity of the winter, and the perpetual

\* Six thousand is the more probable number mentioned above.\*

snows, were so destructive to the troops, that in his march he lost eight thousand men. Accompanied by a small party, he went down to the sea-coast; and in a fort between Berytus and Sidon, called Leucecome, awaited Cleopatra's arrival. To divert his impatience on her delay, he had recourse to festivity and intoxication; and he would frequently over his cups start up from his seat, and run leaping and dancing to look out for her approach. At length she came, and brought with her a large quantity of money and clothing for the army. Some, however, have asserted that she brought nothing but the clothes, and that Antony supplied the money, though he gave her the credit of it.

There happened at this time a quarrel between Phraates and the king of the Medes, occasioned (it is said) by the division of the Roman spoils, and the latter was apprehensive of losing his kingdom. He, therefore, sent to Antony an offer of his assistance against the Parthians. Antony, who concluded that he had failed of conquering the Parthians only through want of cavalry and bowmen, and would here seem rather to confer than to receive a favour, determined once more to return to Armenia, and after joining the king of the Medes at the river Araxes, to renew the war.

Octavia, who was still at Rome, now expressed a desire of visiting Antony, and Cæsar gave her his permission; not (according to the general opinion) merely to oblige her, but that the ill treatment and neglect, which he concluded she would meet with, might furnish him with a pretence for a fresh quarrel. When she arrived at Athens, she received letters from Antony, commanding her to continue there, and acquainting her with his new expedition. These letters mortified her, for she suspected the expedition to be nothing more than a pretext: she wrote to him, however, to inquire where she should leave the presents, which she had brought. These presents

consisted of clothing for the army, beasts of burthen, money, and gifts for his officers and friends. Beside these, she had with her two thousand picked men, fully equipped and armed for the general's cohort. Octavia sent this letter by Niger, a friend of Antony's, who paid her many high and well-merited compliments.

Cleopatra dreaded her rival. She was apprehensive that if she came to Antony, the respectable gravity of her manners, added to the authority and interest of Cæsar, would carry off her husband. She therefore pretended to be dying for the love of him, and to give a colour to this, emaciated herself by abstinence. At his approach she taught her eye to express an agreeable surprise, and whenever he left her, she put on the look of languishment and dejection. Frequently she would endeavour to be caught weeping; and then, as if she wished to hide the tear, she affected to wipe it off unseen.

Antony was all this while preparing for his Median expedition, and Cleopatra's creatures did not fail to reproach his hard unfeeling heart for thus suffering a woman, whose life was wrapped up in his, to die for his sake. "Octavia's marriage," they said, "was a mere political convenience, and it was enough for her, that she had the honour of being called his wife; poor Cleopatra, though queen of a mighty nation, was called nothing more than his mistress. Yet even with this, for the sake of his society, she could be content; but, of that society whenever she should be deprived, it would deprive her of life." These insinuations so totally unmanned him, that through fear of Cleopatra's pining to death, he returned to Egypt, and put off the king of the Medes till summer, though at that time the Parthian affairs were represented as being in a very disorderly situation. At length however he went into Armenia, and after entering into alli-

ance with the Mede, and betrothing one of Cleopatra's sons to a daughter of his who was very young<sup>47</sup>, he returned to attend to the civil war.

When Octavia came back from Athens, Cæsar looked upon the treatment she had met with as a mark of the greatest contempt, and he therefore ordered her to retire and live alone. She refused, however, to quit her husband's house, and moreover entreated her brother by no means merely upon her account to have recourse to arms. It would be infamous, she said, for the two chiefs of the Roman empire to involve the people in a civil war, one for the love of a woman, and the other out of jealousy. By her own conduct she added weight to her expostulations. She kept up the dignity of Antony's house; and took as much care of his children, both those which he had had by Fulvia and her own, as she could possibly have taken, had he been present. Antony's friends, who were sent to Rome to solicit honours or transact business, she kindly entertained, and used her best offices with Cæsar to obtain what they requested. Yet even by this conduct she was, contrary to her inclination, hurting Antony. His injurious treatment of such a woman excited a general indignation; and the distribution, which he had made to his children in Alexandria, carried with it something so haughty and imperious, and so disparaging to the Romans, that it not a little increased that indignation. The manner of doing it was extremely obnoxious: He summoned the people to the place of public exercise, and ordering two golden chairs to be placed on a tribunal of silver, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, beside lower seats for the children, he announced her 'Queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Coelosyria,' and nominated Cæsario (her son by Cæsar the dictator) her colleague. Her sons by himself he entitled 'Kings of Kings'; to Alexander giving Armenia and Media,

<sup>47</sup> See Dio, xlix. 44.\*

together with Parthia when it should be conquered; and to Ptolemy Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the same time the children made their appearance, Alexander in a Median dress with the turban and tiara, and Ptolemy in the long cloke and slippers, with a bonnet encircled by a diadem. The latter was dressed like the successors of Alexander, the former like the Median and Armenian kings. When the children saluted their parents, one was attended by Armenian, and the other by Macedonian guards. Cleopatra upon this, and other public occasions, wore the sacred robe of Isis<sup>48</sup>, and affected to give audience to the people in the character and name of the 'New Isis.'

Cæsar expatiated on these things in the senate, and by frequent accusations incensed the people against Antony. And Antony, by his deputies, did not fail to recriminate. In the first place, he charged Cæsar with having wrested Sicily out of Pompey's hands, and not divided it with him: his next charge was, that Cæsar had never returned the ships, which he had borrowed of him: his third, that after reducing his colleague Lepidus to the condition of a private man, he had taken to himself his army, his province, and his tributes; and the last, that he had distributed almost all the lands in Italy among his own soldiers, and had left nothing for his. To these Cæsar replied, that Lepidus had been reduced, from an incapacity of sustaining his government; that what he had acquired by war he was ready to divide with Antony, and at the same time he expected to share Armenia with him in return; but that his soldiers had no right to lands in Italy, because Media and Armenia, which by their bravery they had added to the Roman empire, had been already allotted to them.

<sup>48</sup> This robe was of all colours, to signify the universality of the goddess' influence. (L.) The robe of Osiris was simply white, and was only to be seen upon one stated day in the year. (See Plut. Is. & Osir.)\*

Antony, being informed of these things in Armenia, immediately sent Canidius to the sea-coast with sixteen legions. In the mean time, he himself went with Cleopatra to Ephesus. There he assembled his fleet, consisting of eight hundred ships of burthen, of which Cleopatra furnished two hundred, beside twenty thousand talents and provisions for the whole army. Antony, by the advice of Domitius and some other friends, ordered Cleopatra to return to Egypt, and there to wait the event of the war. But the queen, apprehensive that through Octavia's mediation a reconciliation might take place, by means of large bribes drew over Canidius to her interest; and prevailed upon him to represent to Antony, that it was unreasonable to refuse so powerful an auxiliary the privilege of being present at the war; neither would it be judicious to discourage the Egyptians, who composed so considerable a part of his naval force; nor indeed was Cleopatra in point of abilities inferior to any of the princes his allies, since she had not only been a long time at the head of a large kingdom, but by her intercourse with him had learnt the administration of the greatest affairs. These remonstrances, as the fates had decreed every thing for Cæsar, produced the desired effect, and they sailed together for Samos, where they indulged in every species of luxury. For at the same time that the kings, governors, states, and provinces between Syria, the Mæotis, Armenia, and Lauria<sup>49</sup>, were commanded to send their contributions to the war, the whole tribe of players and musicians were ordered to repair to Samos; and, while almost the whole world besides was venting it's anguish in groans and tears, that island alone was piping and dancing. The several cities

<sup>49</sup> As a mountain of no note in Attica does not seem properly mentioned with great kingdoms and provinces, it is supposed that we ought to read 'Illyria,' instead of 'Lauria.' Illyria is afterward mentioned as the boundary of Antony's dominions on that side.

sent oxen for sacrifice, and kings contended in the magnificence of their presents and entertainments. So that it was natural to say, "What kind of figure will these people make in their triumph, when their very preparations for war are so splendid!"

When these things were over, he assigned Priene<sup>50</sup> for the residence of the players and musicians, and sailed for Athens, where he once more renewed the farce of public games and shows. The Athenians had treated Octavia, when she was at Athens, with the highest respect; and Cleopatra, jealous of the honours which she had received, endeavoured to court the people by every mark of favour. The people in return voted her public honours, and sent a deputation to wait upon her with the decree. At the head of this deputation was Antony himself, in the character of an Athenian citizen; and he was prolocutor on the occasion.

In the mean time, he despatched some of his people to turn Octavia out of his house at Rome. When she left it, it is said she took with her all his children (except the eldest by Fulvia, who attended him) and deplored the severity of her fate with tears, under the apprehension that she would be regarded as one of the causes of the civil war. The Romans pitied her sufferings, but still more the folly of Antony, particularly those who had seen Cleopatra; for she was by no means preferable to Octavia, either on account of her youth, or her beauty.

When Cæsar was informed of the celerity and magnificence of Antony's preparations, he was afraid of being forced into the war that summer. This would have been very inconvenient for him, as he was in want of almost every thing, and the levies of money occasioned a general dissatisfaction. The whole body of the people were taxed one fourth of their income, and the sons of freedmen one-eighth. This occasioned the utmost clamour and confusion

<sup>50</sup> A city of Ionia, in Asia Minor.\*

in Italy, and Antony certainly committed a very capital oversight in neglecting the advantage. By his unaccountable delays he gave Cæsar an opportunity both of completing his preparations, and of appeasing the minds of the people. When the money was demanded, they murmured and mutinied; but, after it was once paid, they thought of it no longer.

At this time Titius and Plancus, men of consular dignity and Antony's principal friends, being ill-used by Cleopatra on account of their having opposed her stay in the army, abandoned him and went over to Cæsar. As they knew the contents of Antony's will, they presently made him acquainted with them. This will was lodged in the hands of the vestals, and when Cæsar demanded it, they refused to send it; adding, that if he was determined to have it, he must come and take it himself. Accordingly he went, and took it. First of all, he perused it by himself, and remarked such passages as were most liable to censure. He then read it in the senate, and this gave general offence<sup>51</sup>. It seemed to the greatest part an absurd and unprecedented thing that a man should suffer in his life-time, for what he had directed to be done after his death. Cæsar dwelt particularly upon the orders, which he had given concerning his funeral. For in the event of his dying at Rome, he had commanded his body to be carried in procession through the Forum, and afterward conveyed to Alexandria to Cleopatra. Calvisius, a retainer of Cæsar's, accused him also of having given to Cleopatra the Pergamenian library, which consisted of two hundred thousand volumes<sup>52</sup>;

<sup>51</sup> This was an act of most injurious violence. Nothing could be more sacred than a will deposited in the hands of the vestals. (L.) Besides, Antony had the power of changing it, as long as he lived.\*

<sup>52</sup> This had been formed by the literary taste of the wealthy Attali, kings of Pergamus. But we must not confound the size of their 'volumes' with that of those, which are in one of our present libraries. That name was anciently given to a simple treatise, a single book of a history, of odes, or of elegies, a tragedy, or a pair of parallel lives; and the aggregate of the Pergamenian col-



and added that once, when they supped in public, Antony rose and trode on Cleopatra's foot, by way of signal for some rendezvous. He asserted, moreover, that he had suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra sovereign; and that, when he was presiding at the administration of public affairs, attended by several tetrarchs and kings, he received love-letters from her inclosed in onyx and crystal, and perused them there. Besides, when Furnius, a man of great dignity and one of the ablest of the Roman orators, was speaking in public, Cleopatra was carried through the Forum in a litter; upon which Antony immediately started up, and no longer giving his attention to the cause, accompanied her, leaning on the litter as he walked.

The veracity of Calvisius in these accusations was, nevertheless, suspected. Antony's friends solicited the people in his behalf, and despatched Geminius, one of their number, to put him on his guard against the abrogation of his power, and his being declared an enemy to the Roman people. Geminius sailed into Greece, and on his arrival was suspected by Cleopatra, as an agent of Octavia's. Upon this account, he was contemptuously treated, and the lowest seats were assigned him at the public suppers. This however he bore for some time with patience, in hopes of obtaining an interview with Antony. Being at last called upon to state the cause of his coming, he replied, "that one part of  
 " the cause would require to be communicated at a  
 " sober hour, but the other part could not be mis-  
 " taken, whether a man were drunk or sober; for  
 " it was clear that all things would go well, if Cleo-  
 " patra were sent back to Egypt." Antony was extremely chagrined; and Cleopatra said, "You  
 " have done very well, Geminius, to confess with-  
 " out being put to the torture." Geminius soon af-

lection would not perhaps equal in bulk a similar number of modern pamphlets. Till the invention indeed of typography, the accumulation of books was a most laborious and expensive undertaking.\*

terward withdrew, and returned to Rome. Many more of Antony's friends were driven off by the creatures of Cleopatra, when they could no longer endure their insolence and scurrility. Among the rest were Marcus Silanus, and Dellius the historian<sup>53</sup>. The latter informs us, that Cleopatra (as he was told by Glaucus, the physician) had a design upon his life, because he had once affronted her at supper by saying, that while Sarmentus was drinking Falernian at Rome, they were obliged to take up with vinegar. Sarmentus<sup>54</sup> was a boy of Cæsar's, one of those creatures whom the Romans call *Delicia*.

When Cæsar had made his preparations, it was resolved that war should be declared against Cleopatra; as Antony could not be said to possess that power, which he had already resigned to a woman. He was like a man, Cæsar observed, under enchantment, who has no longer any power over himself. It was not he, with whom they were going to war, but Mardion the eunuch, and Pothinus, and Iras (Cleopatra's woman), and Charmion; for these had the principal direction of affairs. Several prodigies are said to have happened previously to this war. Pisaurum, a colony of Antony's on the Adriatic, was swallowed up by an earthquake. His statue in Alba was for many days covered with sweat, which broke out afresh, though frequently wiped off. While he was at Patræ, the temple of Hercules was set on fire by lightning; and at Athens, the statue of Bacchus was carried by a whirlwind from the Gigantomachia<sup>55</sup> into the theatre. These things concerned Antony the more nearly, as he affected to be a descendent of Hercules, and an imitator of Bacchus, insomuch that he was called 'Bacchus the younger.' The

<sup>53</sup> Who accompanied Antony into Parthia, and wrote a history of that expedition.\*

<sup>54</sup> Horace gives an account of a scolding match between this youth and Messius Cicirrus, Sat. I. v. 52., &c. See also J. v. 7. 3.

<sup>55</sup> A building, so called probably from containing some celebrated picture of the 'Battle of the Gods and the Giants.'\*

same wind threw down the colossal statues of Eumenes and Attalus, called the Antonii, while the rest remained unmoved. And in Cleopatra's royal galley, which was named Antonias, a terrible phenomenon appeared. Some swallows having built their nests in the stern, others drove them away, and destroyed their young.

Upon the commencement of the war, Antony had no fewer than five hundred armed vessels, magnificently adorned and furnished with eight or ten banks of oars. He had, moreover, a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. The auxiliary kings, who fought under his banners, were Bocchus of Africa, Tarcondemus of the Upper Cilicia, Archelaüs of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Adallas of Thrace. Those, who did not attend in person but sent supplies, were Polemo of Pontus, Malchus of Arabia, Herod of Judæa, and Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia. Beside these, he received supplies also from the king of the Medes. Cæsar had two hundred and fifty men of war, eighty thousand foot, and an equal number of horse with the enemy. Antony's dominions extended from the Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian sea and Illyria: Cæsar's from Illyria to the western ocean, and from that again to the Tuscan and Sicilian sea. He possessed likewise all that part of Africa which lies opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Spain, as far as the pillars of Hercules. The remainder, from Cyrene to Ethiopia, was in the hands of Antony.

But such a slave was he to the will of a woman, that though much superior at land, in order to gratify her, he put his whole confidence in the navy; notwithstanding that the ships had not half their complement of men, and the officers were obliged to press in exhausted Greece vagrants, ass-drivers, reapers, and boys. Neither could they make up their numbers even with these, many of the ships being still almost empty. Cæsar's vessels, which

were not high-built or splendidly set off for show, but tight good sailers well manned and equipped, continued in the harbours of Tarentum and Brundisium. Thence he sent to Antony desiring he would meet him with his forces, that no time might be lost; offering at the same time to leave the ports and harbours free for his landing, and to withdraw his army a day's journey on horseback, that he might make good his encampment. To this Antony returned a haughty answer, challenging Cæsar, though he was the older man, to single combat; or if he should decline the duel, to meet him at Pharsalia, and decide their quarrel where Cæsar and Pompey had previously determined theirs. This, however, Cæsar prevented; for while Antony made for Actium<sup>56</sup> (which is now called Nicopolis) he crossed the Ionian, and seized on Toryne, a place in Epirus. His promptitude annoyed Antony, who was without his infantry; but Cleopatra made a jest of it, and asked him if it was so very dreadful a thing, that Cæsar had got into 'the Ladle'<sup>57</sup>.

Antony, as soon as it was day-light, perceiving the enemy making up to him, and fearing that his ill-manned vessels would be unable to stand the attack, armed his rowers, and placing them on the decks to make a show, with the oars suspended on each side of the vessels, proceeded in this mock form of battle toward Actium. Cæsar was deceived by the stratagem, and retired. The water about Cæsar's camp was both scarce and bad, and Antony had the address to cut off the little that they had.

It was about this time that, contrary to Cleopatra's wish, he acted so generous a part by Domitius. The latter, even when he had a fever upon him, took a

<sup>56</sup> A city and promontory of Acarnania, the first now called Azio, and the latter Capo di Figalo. The name of Nicopolis was given to another built near it by Augustus, in honour of his decisive victory, Strab. vii.\*

<sup>57</sup> In Greek, *Toryne*.

small boat and went over to Cæsar: Antony, though he could not but resent this, despatched after him his baggage, his friends, and his servants; and Domitius, as if it had been through grief that his treachery was discovered, died very soon afterward<sup>18</sup>. Amyntas and Deiotarus likewise went over to Cæsar.

Antony's fleet was so extremely unsuccessful, and so unfit for service, that he was obliged at last to think of his land-forces; and Canidius, who had been retained in Cleopatra's interest, now changing his mind, thought it necessary that she should be sent away, and that Antony should retire into Thrace or Macedon to decide it in the field, as Dicomès, king of the Getæ, had offered to assist him with a large army. To give up the sea to Cæsar, who in his Sicilian wars had acquired so much experience upon it, he said, would be no disgrace; but to give up the advantage which so able a general as himself might make of his land-forces, and waste the strength of so many legions in useless draughts for the sea-service, would be infinitely absurd. Cleopatra, however, prevailed for the decision by sea; though her motive was, not the superior chance of victory, but in the event of being vanquished, the better opportunity of escaping.

There was a neck of land between Antony's camp and his fleet, along which he used frequently to pass from one to the other. Cæsar having learnt by a domestic, how easy it would be to seize him in this passage, sent a party to lie in wait for that purpose. These were so near carrying their point, that they seized the person who went before Antony; and had they not been too hasty, he must himself have fallen

<sup>18</sup> Plutarch seems to have been ill-informed about this matter. It is most probable that Domitius, one of the firmest friends of Antony, was delirious when he went over to Cæsar; and that Antony knew this, when he sent his attendants after him. It is at the same time possible that, when he returned to himself, the consciousness of his desertion might occasion his death.

into their hands, as it was with the utmost difficulty that he made his escape by flight.

After it was determined to decide the affair by sea, they set fire to all the Egyptian vessels<sup>59</sup> except sixty. The best and largest ships from three ranks of oars to ten were selected, and these had their proper complement of men, being supplied with twenty thousand foot and two thousand archers. Upon this a veteran warrior, an experienced officer in the infantry, who had often fought under Antony, and whose body was covered with scars, exclaimed; "Why will you, general, distrust these honest wounds, and rest your hopes on those villainous wooden bottoms? Let the Egyptians and the Phœnicians skirmish at sea, but give us at least the land; for there it is, that we have learned to conquer or die.\*" Antony made no answer, but seemed to encourage him by the motions of his hand and head, though at the same time he had no great confidence himself; for when the pilots would have left the sails behind, he ordered them to take them all on board, pretending indeed that it was with a view to pursue the enemy's flight, not to facilitate his own.

On that and the three following days, the sea ran too high for an engagement: but on the fifth the weather was fine, and the sea calm. Antony and Poplicola led the right wing, Coelius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Justeius commanded the centre. Cæsar had given his left wing to Agrippa, and led the right himself. Antony's land-forces were commanded by Canidius, and Cæsar's remained quiet on the shore, under the command of Taurus. As to the generals themselves, Antony was rowed about in a light vessel; ordering his men, on account of the weight of their vessels, to keep their ground and fight as steadily as if they were at land. His pi-

<sup>59</sup> From his fear of their cowardice. The sixty, which he spared, were reserved as Cleopatra's guard.\*

lots he directed to stand as firm as if they were at anchor, in that position to receive the attacks of the enemy, and by all means to avoid the disadvantage of the straits. Cæsar, when he left his tent before day to review his fleet, met a man who was driving an ass. Upon asking his name, the man answered, "My name is Eutychus, and that of my ass is Nic<sup>60</sup>." The place where he met him was afterward adorned with trophies of the beaks of ships, and there he placed the statue of the ass and his driver in brass. After having reviewed the whole fleet, and taken his post in the right wing, he attended to the fleet of the enemy, which he was surprised to find steady and motionless as if it lay at anchor. For some time, he thought it was so; and he therefore kept back his fleet at the distance of eight furlongs. About noon, there was a brisk gale from the sea; when Antony's forces impatient for the combat, and trusting to the height and bulk of their vessels, which they imagined would render them invincible, put the left wing in motion. Cæsar rejoiced at the sight of this, and kept back his right wing, that he might the more effectually draw them out to the open sea, where his light galleys could easily surround the heavy half-manned vessels of the enemy.

The attack was not made with any violent shock or impetuosity: for Antony's ships were too heavy for that kind of rapid impression, which is absolutely necessary for the breach of an enemy's vessel. On the other hand, Cæsar's ships durst neither encounter head to head with those of Antony, on account of the strength and roughness of their beaks; nor yet attack them on the sides, since by their mere weight they would easily have broken their beaks, which were made of large square pieces of timber fastened to each other with iron cramps. The engagement, therefore, was more like a land than a sea-fight, or more properly like the storming of a town;

<sup>60</sup> 'The Fortunate,' and 'the Conqueror.'

for there were generally three or more of Cæsar's ships about one of Antony's, assaulting it with pikes, javelins, and fire-brands, while Antony's men from their wooden towers<sup>61</sup> hurled weapons of various kinds from engines. Agrippa opened his left wing with a design to surround the enemy, and Poplicola in his endeavour to prevent him was separated from the main body, which threw it into disorder, while at the same time it was attacked by Arruntius<sup>62</sup> with great vigour. While things were in this situation, and nothing decisive was yet effected, Cleopatra's sixty ships on a sudden hoisted their sails, and fairly took to flight through the midst of the combatants; for they were placed in the rear of the large vessels, and by breaking through them occasioned no small confusion. The enemy saw them with astonishment making their way with a fair wind for the Peloponnesus. Antony, upon this occasion, forgot both the general and the man; and as some author<sup>63</sup> has pleasantly observed, that the soul of a lover lives in the body of another, so as if he had been absolutely incorporated with Cleopatra, he suffered her to carry him along with her. No sooner did he see her vessel hoisting sail, than forgetting every other object, and betraying and forsaking those brave friends who were shedding their blood in his cause, he took a five-oared galley, and accompanied only by Alexander the Syrian, and Scellius, followed her who was the first cause and now the accomplisher of his ruin. Her own destruction was certain, and he voluntarily involved himself in her fate.

As soon as she saw him coming, she hoisted a signal in her vessel, upon which he instantly went aboard: neither of them however being able to look each other in the face, Antony sat down at the head of the ship, where he remained in melancholy silence,

<sup>61</sup> His ships are so called, on account of their tallness.

<sup>62</sup> Arruntius must have commanded Cæsar's centre, though that circumstance is not mentioned.

<sup>63</sup> Cato the Censor. See his Life, H. 505.



holding his head between his hands. In the mean time Cæsar's light ships, which were in pursuit of him, came in sight. Upon this, he ordered his pilot to tack about and meet them; but they all declined the engagement and made off, except Eurycles the Lacedæmonian, who shook his lance at him in a menacing manner on the deck. Antony, standing at the head of his galley, demanded; "Who art thou, that thus pursuest Antony?" He answered, "I am Eurycles the son of Lachares, and follow the fortunes of Cæsar to revenge my father's death." This Lachares Antony had beheaded for a robbery. Eurycles, however, did not attack Antony's vessel, but fell upon the other admiral-galley (for there were two of that rank), and by the shock turned her round. He subsequently captured her, with another vessel containing Antony's most valuable plate and furniture. Upon his departure, Antony returned to the same pensive posture; and continuing thus for three days, during which either through shame or resentment he refused to see Cleopatra, he arrived at Tænarus. There the women who attended them first brought them to speak to each other, then to dine, and not long afterward to sleep together. At last several of his transports, and some of his friends who had escaped from the defeat, came up with him, and informed him that his fleet indeed was totally destroyed, but that his land-forces were yet unhurt. Upon this, he sent orders to Canidius to march his army immediately through Macedon into Asia. As for himself, he determined to sail from Tænarus into Africa; and, dividing a ship-load of treasure among his friends, he desired them to provide for their own safety. But they refused the treasure, expressing their sorrow at the same time by tears; while Antony with the kindest and most humane consolations entreated them to accept it, and dismissed them with letters of recommendation to his agent at Corinth, whom he ordered to give them secure refuge, till they could be reconciled to Cæsar. This agent was Theophilus

the father of Hipparchus, who had great interest with Antony, but was the first of his freedmen that went over to Cæsar. He afterward settled at Corinth.

In this posture were Antony's affairs. As for his fleet, after it had long struggled with Cæsar's, a hard gale which blew right a-head of it obliged it to strike about four in the afternoon. About five thousand men were slain in the action, and Cæsar according to his own account took three hundred ships. Antony's flight was observed by few, and to those who had not seen it, it appeared at first incredible. They could not possibly believe that a general, who had nineteen legions and twelve thousand horse, a general to whom vicissitude of fortune was nothing new, would so basely desert them. His soldiers likewise had an inexpressible desire to see him, and still expecting that he would appear in some part or other, displayed the strongest testimonies of their courage and fidelity. Nay, when they were even convinced that he was irrevocably gone, they continued embodied for seven days, and would not listen to Cæsar's envoys. At last however, when Canidius who commanded them fled from the camp by night, and when they were abandoned by their principal officers, they surrendered to Cæsar.

After this signal success, Cæsar sailed for Athens. The cities of Greece he found in extreme poverty; for they had been plundered of their cattle, and every thing else, before the war. He therefore not only admitted them to favour, but made a distribution among them of the remainder of the corn, which had been provided for the war. My great-grandfather Nicarchus used to relate, that as the inhabitants of Chæronea had no horses, they were compelled to carry a certain quantity of corn on their shoulders to the sea-coast as far as Anticyra, and were driven by soldiers with stripes like so many beasts of burthen. This, however, was done but once; for when the corn was measured a second

time, and they were preparing to carry it, intelligence was brought of Antony's defeat, and this saved the city from farther hardships; as the commissaries and soldiers immediately took to flight, and left the poor inhabitants to share the corn among themselves.

When Antony arrived in Libya, he sent Cleopatra from Parætonium<sup>64</sup> into Egypt, and retired to a melancholy desert, where he wandered up and down with only two attendants. One of these was Aristocrates, the Greek rhetorician; the other was the Roman Lucilius, of whom it has been elsewhere related that, in order to favour the escape of Brutus at Philippi, he assumed his name and suffered himself to be taken<sup>65</sup>. Antony saved his life, and in grateful remembrance of the favour he attended him to the last.

When Antony learned, that he who commanded his troops in Libya was gone over to the enemy, he attempted to lay violent hands upon himself: but he was prevented by his friends, who conveyed him to Alexandria, where he found Cleopatra engaged in a very bold and astonishing enterprise.

Between the Red Sea and the Egyptian, there is an isthmus which divides Asia from Africa, and which in the narrowest part is about three hundred furlongs in breadth. Cleopatra had formed a design of drawing her galleys over this part into the Red Sea, and purposed with all her wealth and forces to seek some remote country, where she might neither be reduced to slavery nor involved in war. The first galleys however that were carried over being burnt by the Arabians of Petra<sup>66</sup>, and Antony not knowing that his land-forces were dispersed, she abandoned her project, and began to fortify the avenues of her kingdom. Antony in the mean time forsook the

<sup>64</sup> A maritime city in Africa, on the confines of Cyrenaica.\*

<sup>65</sup> See the Life of Brutus, VI. 104.

<sup>66</sup> Dio tells us, that the vessels burnt were not those which had been drawn over the Isthmus, but some built upon that side. (li. 7.)

city, and the society of his friends, and retired to a small house which he had built for himself near Pharos, on a mound he had cast up in the sea. In this place, sequestered from all commerce with mankind, he affected to live like Timon, because there was a resemblance in their fortunes. He had been treated injuriously and ungratefully by his friends, and this made him distrust and hate his whole species.

This Timon was a citizen of Athens, and lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war, as appears from the comedies of Aristophanes and Plato<sup>67</sup>, in which he is exposed as a gloomy misanthrope. Yet, though he hated mankind in general, he caressed the bold and impudent boy Alcibiades; and being asked the reason by Apemantus, who expressed some surprise at it, he answered, "Because he foresaw that he would plague the people of Athens." Apemantus was the only one, whom he admitted to his society, and he was his friend, from sympathy of feeling and manners. At the feast of sacrifices for the dead<sup>68</sup>, these two dined by themselves, and when Apemantus observed that the feast was excellent, Timon replied, "It would be so, if you were not here." Once in an assembly of the people he mounted the Rostrum, and the novelty of the thing occasioning an universal silence and expectation, he said; "People of Athens, there is a fig-tree in my yard, upon which many worthy citizens have hanged themselves: and as I have determined to build upon the spot, I thought it necessary to give public notice, that such as choose to have recourse to this tree for the aforesaid purpose, may repair thither before it is cut down." He was buried at Halæ near the sea, and the water surrounded his

<sup>67</sup> The comic writer of that name.\*

<sup>68</sup> This feast of *χοαι*, which took place on the second or middle day of the Anthesteria, is interpreted somewhat differently by M. Ricard in his long note upon the passage. For his authorities he refers to Meursius, and M. l'abbé Barthelemy (*Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, xxxix. p. 176.)\*

tomb in such a manner, that he was even then inaccessible to mankind. The following epitaph is inscribed on his monument :

At last, I've bid the knaves farewell ;  
Ask not my name, but go—to hell.

This epitaph, it is said, he wrote himself. That, which is commonly repeated, was written by Callimachus :

My name is Timon : knaves, begone !  
Curse me, but come not near my stone !

These are some of the many anecdotes, which we have concerning Timon.

Canidius himself brought Antony intelligence of the defection of his army. Soon afterward he heard, that Herod of Judæa was gone over to Cæsar with some legions and cohorts, that several other powers had deserted his interest, and in short that he had no foreign assistance to depend upon. None of these things, however, disturbed him : for at once abandoning his hopes and his cares, he left his Timonian retreat, and returned to Alexandria ; where, in the palace of Cleopatra, he once more entertained the citizens with his usual festivity and munificence. He gave the *Toga Virilis* to Antyllus, his son by Fulvia, and admitted Cleopatra's son by Cæsar into the order of Young Men<sup>69</sup>. The entertainments upon this occasion were infinitely pompous and magnificent, and lasted several days.

Antony and Cleopatra had before established a society called the 'Inimitable in Life,' of which they were members : they now instituted another, by no means inferior in splendour or luxury, called 'The Inseparable in Death.' Into this their friends were admitted, and the time passed in mutual treats and diversions. Cleopatra at the same time was

<sup>69</sup> See Dio, 51, 6. These honours proved fatal, in the issue, to their wearers.\*

making a collection of poisonous drugs, and wishing to ascertain which was the least painful, she tried them upon the capital convicts. Such poisons, as were quick in their operation, she found to be attended with violent pain and convulsions; such as were milder, were slow in their effect: she therefore undertook the examination of venomous creatures, and caused different kinds of them to be applied to different persons under her own inspection. These experiments she repeated daily, and at length she discovered that the bite of the asp<sup>70</sup> was the most eligible kind of death: as it brought on a gradual kind of lethargy, in which the face was covered with a gentle sweat, and the senses sunk easily into stupefaction: and those who were thus affected showed the same uneasiness at being disturbed or awaked, that people do in the most profound natural sleep.

They both despatched ambassadors to Cæsar in Asia. Cleopatra requested Egypt for her children, but Antony only petitioned that he might be permitted to live as a private man in Egypt, or if that were too much, that he might retire to Athens. Deserted as they were by almost all their friends, and hardly knowing in whom to confide, they were obliged to send Euphronius, their children's tutor, on this embassy. Alexis of Laodicea, who by means of Timogenes had become acquainted with Antony at Rome, a man of great skill in the Greek learning, and one of Cleopatra's chief agents in keeping Octavia from her husband, he had before despatched to Judæa to retain Herod in his interest. This man gave up Antony, and relying on Herod's interest, had the confidence to appear before Cæsar. That interest, however, did not save him; for he was immediately carried in chains into his own country, and there put to death. Thus Antony had, at least, the satisfaction of seeing him punished for his perfidy.

The petition of Antony Cæsar absolutely rejected;

<sup>70</sup> *Aspis somnuculosa.*

but he answered Cleopatra, that she might expect every favour from him, provided she either took off Antony, or banished him from her dominions. At the same time he sent to her Thyreus<sup>71</sup> one of his freedmen, whose address was not unlikely to carry his point; particularly as he came from a young conqueror to the court of an ambitious queen, still deeply impressed with a notion of her personal charms<sup>72</sup>. As this ambassador was indulged with audiences longer and more frequent than usual, Antony grew jealous; and having first ordered him to be whipped, he sent him back to Cæsar with letters, in which he informed him, that he had been provoked by the insolence of his freedman, at a time when his misfortunes made him but too prone to anger. "You have a freedman of mine however," added he, "Hipparchus, in your power, and if it will be any satisfaction to you, use him in the same manner." Cleopatra, that she might make some amends for her indiscretion, behaved to him afterward with the utmost tenderness and respect. Her own birth-day she kept in a manner suitable to their unhappy circumstances; but his was celebrated with such splendour and magnificence, that many of the guests who came poor returned opulent.

After Antony's overthrow, Agrippa wrote several letters to Cæsar to inform him, that his presence was necessary at Rome. This for some time put off the war; but as soon as the winter was over, Cæsar

<sup>71</sup> Dion calls him 'Thyrsus.' Antony and Cleopatra had despatched other ambassadors to Cæsar with offers of considerable treasures, and last of all Antony sent his son Antyllus with large sums of gold. Cæsar with his characteristic meanness took the gold, but granted him none of his requests. Fearing, however, that despair might reduce Antony to carry the war into Spain or Gaul, or provoke him to burn the wealth which Cleopatra had been amassing, he sent this Thyreus to Alexandria.

<sup>72</sup> Thyreus, as Dion informs us, was instructed to make use of the softest address, and to insinuate that Cæsar was captivated with her beauty. The object of this measure was to prevail upon her to take off Antony, while she was flattered with the prospect of obtaining the conqueror.

marched against Antony by the route of Syria, and despatched his lieutenants on the same business into Africa. When Pelusium was taken, it was rumoured, that Seleucus had delivered up the place with the connivance or consent of Cleopatra; upon which the queen, in order to justify herself, gave up the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands. Cleopatra had erected near the temple of Isis some monuments of extraordinary size and grandeur. To these she removed her treasure, her gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, together with a large quantity of flax and a number of torches. Cæsar was under apprehensions about this immense wealth, lest upon some sudden emergency she should set fire to the whole. For this reason, he was continually sending messengers to her with assurances of gentle and honourable treatment, and in the mean time he hastened himself to the city with his army.

Upon his arrival, he encamped near the Hippodrome; upon which Antony made a brisk sally, routed the cavalry, drove them back into their trenches, and returned to the city with the complacency of a conqueror. As he was going to the palace he met Cleopatra, and armed as he was saluted her without ceremony, at the same time recommending to her favour a brave soldier, who had distinguished himself in the engagement. In reward of his valour he received from her a cuirass and helmet of gold, and the same night went over to Cæsar. After this, Antony challenged Cæsar to fight him in single combat; but Cæsar only answered, that "Antony might find out many other ways to end his life." Upon which, Antony concluding that he could not die more honourably than in battle, determined to attack him at the same time both by sea and land. The night preceding the execution of this design, he ordered his servants at supper to render him their best services that evening, and fill the wine round plentifully; for the day following they might belong to another master, while he lay extended a corpse and a nothing on



the ground. His friends were affected, and wept to hear him talk thus; which when he perceived, he encouraged them by assurances, that his expectations of a glorious victory were at least equal to those of an honourable death. At the dead of night, when universal silence reigned throughout the city, a silence deepened by the awful thought of the ensuing day, on a sudden was heard the sound of musical instruments, and a noise which resembled the exclamations of Bacchanals. This tumultuous procession seemed to pass through the whole city, and to go out at the gate which led to the enemy's camp. Such as reflected upon this prodigy concluded that Bacchus, the god whom Antony affected to imitate, had then forsaken him.

As soon as it was light, he led his infantry out of the city, and posted them on a rising ground, whence he saw his fleet advance toward that of the enemy. There he stood waiting for the event; but as soon as the two fleets met, they hailed each other with their oars in a friendly manner, Antony's fleet making the first advances, and sailed together peaceably toward the city. This was no sooner done, than the cavalry deserted him in the same manner, and surrendered to Cæsar. His infantry were routed; and as he retired to the city, he exclaimed that Cleopatra had betrayed him to those, with whom he was fighting only for her sake.

The wretched queen, dreading the effects of his anger, fled to her monument, and having secured it as much as possible with bars and bolts, gave orders that Antony should be informed she was dead. Believing the information to be true, he cried, "Antony, why tarriest thou? What is life to thee, when it is taken from her, for whom alone thou couldest wish to live?" He then went to his chamber, and opening his coat of mail, said; "I am not distressed, Cleopatra, that thou art gone before me, for I shall soon be with thee: but I grieve to think that I, who have been so distinguished a general, should

“be inferior in magnanimity to a woman.” He was attended by a faithful servant, whose name was Eros. This servant he had engaged to kill him, whenever he should deem it necessary, and he now demanded that service. Upon which, Eros drew his sword, as if he designed to comply: but suddenly turning about, he slew himself, and fell at his master’s feet. “This, Eros,” said Antony, “was greatly done; thy heart would not permit thee to kill thy master, but thou hast taught him what to do by thy example.” He then plunged his sword into his own bowels, and threw himself upon a couch which stood near. The wound however was not so deep, as to cause immediate death; and the blood stopping as he lay on the couch, he came to himself, and entreated those that were present to put him out of his pain. But they all fled, and left him to his cries and torments, till Cleopatra’s secretary Diomedes arrived with a request from her, that he would come to her in the monument. When Antony found that she was still living, it gave him fresh spirits, and he ordered his servants to take him up. Accordingly, they carried him in their arms to the door of the monument. Cleopatra would not suffer the door to be opened; but a cord being let down from a window, Antony was fastened to it, and she with her two women, all that had been admitted into the monument, endeavoured to draw him up. Nothing, as they who stood by observed, could possibly be more affecting than this sight. Antony, covered with blood and in the agonies of death, hoisted up by the rope and stretching out his hands to Cleopatra, while he was suspended for a considerable time in the air! For it was with the greatest difficulty that the women raised him, though Cleopatra herself exerted all her strength, straining every nerve, and distorting every feature with the violence of the effort; while those, who stood below, endeavoured to animate her, and seemed to partake in all her feelings. When she had gotten him within and laid him on a bed, as she

stood over him, she rent her clothes, beat and wounded her breast, and wiping the blood from his disfigured countenance, called him “her lord, her emperor, her husband!” Her whole soul was absorbed in his misfortunes; and she seemed totally to have forgotten, that she had any miseries of her own. Antony endeavoured to sooth her as well as he was able, and called for wine; either because he was thirsty, or because he thought it might sooner put him out of his pain. When he had drunk, he advised her to consult her own affairs and her safety, as far as might be consistent with honour, and to place her confidence in Proculeius<sup>75</sup> rather than in the other friends of Cæsar. “As to himself,” he said, “she ought rather to rejoice in the recollection of his past happiness, than to bewail his present misfortunes; since in his life he had been illustrious, and was not inglorious in his death. He had conquered like a Roman, and it was only by a Roman that he had been overcome.” A little before he expired, Proculeius arrived from Cæsar; for after Antony had stabbed himself, and was conveyed to Cleopatra, Dercetæus, one of his guards, privately carried off his bloody sword and showed it to Cæsar. When Cæsar beheld this token of Antony’s death, he retired to the inner part of his tent, and shed some tears in remembrance of a man who had been his relation, his colleague in government, and his associate in so many battles and important affairs. He then called his friends together, and read the letters which had passed between himself and Antony; from which it appeared that, though Cæsar had still written in a rational and equitable manner, Antony’s answers had been insolent and contemptuous. After this, he despatched Proculcius with orders, if possible, to take Cleopatra alive; for he was extremely solicitous to save the treasures in the monument,

<sup>75</sup> Of this respectable Roman we have a very favourable trait in *Hor. Od. II. ii. 5—8.*, where he is represented as a particularly affectionate brother.\*

which would so greatly enhance the glory of his triumph. She refused, however, to admit him into the monument, and would only speak to him through the bolted gate. The substance of this conference was, that Cleopatra made a requisition of the kingdom for her children, while Proculeius on the other hand encouraged her to trust every thing to Cæsar.

After he had reconnoitred the place, he sent an account of it to Cæsar: upon which, Gallus was despatched to confer with Cleopatra. The thing was thus concerted: Gallus went up to the gate of the monument, and drew Cleopatra into conversation, while Proculeius applied a ladder to the window, through which the women had introduced Antony; and having entered with two servants, immediately went up to the place where Cleopatra was in conference with Gallus. One of her women discovered him, and immediately screamed aloud, "Wretched Cleopatra, you are taken alive!" Upon which she turned about, and seeing Proculeius, instantly attempted to stab herself; for, to this intent, she always carried a dagger about with her. Proculeius however prevented her, and expostulating with her, as he held her in his arms, entreated her not to be so injurious to herself or to Cæsar; not to rob so humane a prince of the glory of his clemency, or expose him by her distrust to the imputation of treachery or of cruelty. At the same time, he took the dagger from her, and shook her clothes, lest she should have poison concealed about her. Cæsar also sent his freedman Epaphroditus, ordering him to treat her with the greatest politeness, but by all means to bring her alive.

Cæsar marched into Alexandria, conversing with Arius the philosopher; and, to do him honour before the people, he led him by the hand. On entering the Gymnasium, he ascended a tribunal that had been erected for him, and gave assurances to the citizens, who prostrated themselves before him, that

the city should not be injured. For this, he told them, he had different motives. First, it had been built by Alexander: next, he admired it for its beauty and magnitude; and lastly, he would spare it, were it but for his friend Arius' sake. Such was the distinguished honour Cæsar conferred upon him, extending pardon to many at his request. Among these was Philostratus, one of the most acute and eloquent sophists of his time. This man, without any right, pretended to be a follower of the Academics; and Cæsar, from a bad opinion of his morals, had rejected his petition: on which the sophist followed Arius up and down in a mourning cloke, with a long white beard, crying constantly,

“The wise, if really wise, will save the wise.”

Cæsar heard and forgave him, not so much out of favour, as to rescue Arius from the impertinence and envy which he might otherwise incur on his account.

Antyllus, Antony's eldest son by Fulvia, was betrayed by his tutor Theodorus, and put to death. While the soldiers were beleaguering him, the tutor stole a jewel of considerable value, which he wore about his neck, and concealed it in his girdle. When he was charged with it, he denied the fact; but the jewel being found upon him, he was crucified. Cæsar appointed a guard over Cleopatra's children and their governors, and allowed them an honourable support. Cæsario, the reputed son of Cæsar the dictator, had been sent by his mother, with a considerable sum of money, through Ethiopia into India. But Rhodon, his governor, a man of the same principles with Theodorus, persuading him that Cæsar would certainly make him king of Egypt, prevailed upon him to turn back. While Cæsar was deliberating how he should treat him, Arius is said to have observed, that there ought not to be a plurality of

Cæsars<sup>77</sup>. Soon after the death of Cleopatra, therefore, he was slain.

Many considerable princes begged Antony's body, that they might have the honour of giving it burial; but Cæsar would not take it from Cleopatra, who interred it with her own hands, and performed the funeral rites with great magnificence; for she was allowed to expend as much as she thought proper upon the occasion. The excess of her affliction, and the inflammation of her breast, wounded as it was by the blows which she had given it in her anguish, threw her into a fever. She was delighted to find an excuse in this for abstaining from food, and hoped thus to be permitted to die without interruption. The physician, in whom she placed her principal confidence, was Olympus; and, according to his short account of these transactions, she made use of his advice in the accomplishment of her design. Cæsar, however, suspected it, and that he might prevail upon her to take the necessary food and physic, threatened to treat her children with severity. This had the desired effect, and her resolution was overborne<sup>78</sup>.

A few days afterward, Cæsar himself made her a visit of condolence and consolation. She was then in an undress, and lying negligently upon a couch; but when the conqueror entered the apartment, though she was only wrapped in a single bed-gown, she arose and threw herself at his feet. Her face was

<sup>77</sup> Alluding to a verse in Homer (Il. ii. 204.) which, deprecating

That worst of tyrants, an usurping crowd,

asserts that 'there ought not to be a plurality of governors.' Between the original πολυκοιρανιη and the πολυκτισαριη, of the text, is an obvious onomatopœia; and in this consists the smartness of Arius' observation.\*

<sup>78</sup> Cleopatra certainly possessed, in a very eminent degree, the virtues of fidelity and natural affection. She had several opportunities of betraying Antony, could she either by fear or by ambition have been induced to it. Her tenderness for her children was always superior to her self-love; and she had a greatness of soul, which Cæsar never knew.

out of figure, her hair in disorder, her voice trembling, her eyes sunk, and her bosom bore the marks of the injuries which she had inflicted upon it. In short, her person gave the exact image of her mind; yet in this deplorable condition there were some remains of that grace and vivacity, which had so peculiarly animated her former charms, and still some gleams of her native elegance might be seen to wander over her melancholy countenance<sup>79</sup>.

When Cæsar had replaced her on her couch, and seated himself by her, she endeavoured to justify the part which she had taken against him in the war, alleging the necessity she was under, and her fear of Antony. But when she found that these apologies had no weight with him, she had recourse to prayers and entreaties, as if she had been really desirous of life; at the same time putting into his hands an inventory of her treasures. Seleucus one of her treasurers, who happened to be present, accused her of having suppressed some articles in the account; upon which she started up from her couch, caught him by the hair, and gave him several blows on the face. Cæsar smiled at this spirited resentment, and endeavoured to pacify her; but "How is it to be endured, Cæsar," she exclaimed, "if even while you are honouring me with a visit in my wretched situation, I must be affronted by one of my own servants? Supposing that I have reserved a few trinkets, they were by no means intended as ornaments for my own person in these miserable fortunes, but as little presents for Octavia and Livia, through whose good offices I might hope to find favour with you." Cæsar was not displeased to hear this, because he flattered himself that she was

<sup>79</sup> Dion (li. 12.) gives a more pompous account of her reception of Cæsar. She received him (he informs us) in a magnificent apartment, lying on a splendid bed, in a mourning habit which particularly became her; and had several pictures of Julius Cæsar placed near her, and some of his letters in her bosom. The conversation turned on the same subject, and her speech on the occasion is recorded.

desirous to live. He therefore assured her, that whatever she had reserved, she might dispose of at her pleasure : and that she might, in every respect, depend upon the most honourable treatment. After this he took his leave, in full confidence that he had deceived her to his purpose ; but he was himself deceived.

There was in Cæsar's train a young nobleman, named Cornelius Dolabella. This youth smitten with the charms of Cleopatra, and pledged to communicate to her every thing that passed, gave her private notice that Cæsar was about to return into Syria, and that within three days she with her children would be sent off. When she was informed of this, she requested of Cæsar permission to make her last oblations to Antony. This being granted, she was conveyed to the place where he was buried ; and kneeling at his tomb, with her women, she thus addressed the *manes* of the dead : “ It is not long, my  
 “ Antony, since with these hands I buried thee.  
 “ Alas ! they were then free ; but thy Cleopatra is  
 “ now a prisoner, and attended by a guard, lest in  
 “ the transports of her grief she should disfigure this  
 “ captive body, which is reserved to adorn thy tri-  
 “ umph over thee. These are the last offerings, the  
 “ last honours which she can pay thee, for she is now  
 “ about to be conveyed to a distant country. No-  
 “ thing could part us, while we lived ; but in death  
 “ we are, it seems, to change places. Thou, though  
 “ a Roman, liest buried in Egypt ; and I, an Egyp-  
 “ tian, must be interred in Italy, the only favour  
 “ which I shall receive from thy country. Yet, if  
 “ the gods of Rome have power or mercy left (for  
 “ surely those of Egypt have forsaken us<sup>80</sup>) let them  
 “ not suffer me to be led in living triumph to thy

<sup>80</sup> It was the opinion of the ancients, that the gods forsook the vanquished. Thus Virgil :

*Excessit omnes adytis arisque relictis*  
*Dè, quibus imperium hoc steterat.* (Æn. ii. 356.)

And Tacitus ; *Alieni jam imperii deos.*



“disgrace! No! hide me, bury me with thee in the grave; for life, since thou hast left it, has been misery to me.”

Thus the unhappy queen bewailed her misfortunes; and after crowning the tomb with flowers, and kissing it, she ordered her bath to be prepared. When she had bathed, she sat down to a magnificent supper; soon after which, a peasant came to the gate with a small basket. The guards inquired, what it contained; upon which the man who brought it, removing the uppermost leaves, showed them a parcel of figs. As they admired their size and beauty, he smiled, and bade them take some; but they refused, and not suspecting that the basket contained any thing else, suffered it to be carried in. After supper Cleopatra sent a letter to Cæsar, and ordering every body except her two women out of the monument, fastened the door. When Cæsar opened the letter, the plaintive stile in which it was written, and the strong request that she might be buried in the same tomb with Antony, made him suspect her design. At first he was for hastening to her himself, but he changed his mind, and despatched others. Her death however was so sudden, that though they who were sent ran the whole way, alarmed the guards with their apprehensions, and immediately broke open the doors, they found her quite dead<sup>82</sup>, lying on her golden bed and dressed in all her royal ornaments. Iras, one of her women, lay dead at her feet; and Charmion, hardly able to support herself, was adjusting her mistress' diadem. Upon one of Cæsar's messengers angrily asking, “Charmion, was this well done?” “Perfectly well,” she replied, “and worthy a descendent of the kings of Egypt.” She had no sooner said this, than she fell down dead.

It is related by some, that an asp was brought in among the figs, and hidden under the leaves; and

<sup>82</sup> Dion (ib. 14.) says, that Cæsar ordered her to be sucked by the Psylli, that the poison might be drawn out; but it was too late. For an account of these Psylli, see Lucan. ix. 925—937.

that Cleopatra had ordered it so, that she might be bitten without seeing it: that however, upon removing the leaves, she perceived it, and said, "This is what I wanted." Upon which, she instantly held out her arm to it. Others state, that the asp was kept in a water-vessel, and that she vexed and pricked it with a golden spindle, till it seized her arm. But nothing of this could be ascertained: for it was likewise reported, that she carried about with her a certain poison in a hollow bodkin which she wore in her hair; yet no mark of poison could be traced on her body, neither was there any serpent found in the monument, though the track of a reptile was said to have been discovered on the sea-sands opposite to the windows of her apartment. Others again have affirmed, that she had two small punctures on her arm, apparently occasioned by the asp's sting, and to this Cæsar obviously gave credit; for her effigy, which he carried in triumph, had an asp on the arm<sup>83</sup>.

Such are the accounts, which we have of Cleopatra's death; and Cæsar, though much disappointed by it, admired her fortitude, and ordered her to be buried with all the magnificence due to her quality in Antony's tomb. Her women, likewise, were by his orders interred with great funeral pomp. Cleopatra died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years, the last fourteen in conjunction with Antony. Antony was fifty-three, some say fifty-six, when he died. His statues were all

<sup>83</sup> This may be a matter of doubt. There would of course be an asp on the diadem of the effigy, because it was peculiar to the kings of Egypt; and this might give rise to the report of an asp being on the arm. (L.) The passage in the text however is justified by Propertius (El. III. xi. 53.)

*Brachia spectavi sacris admorsa colubris,*

And Horace's

—*Fortis et asperas*  
*Tractare serpentes, ut atrum*  
*Corporis combiberet venenum.*

(Od. I. xxxvii. 29.)

can only be warranted by supposing him to have adopted Cæsar's opinion on the subject.\*

demolished, but Cleopatra's remained untouched; Archibius, a friend of hers, having given Cæsar a thousand talents for their redemption.

Antony left by his three wives seven children<sup>84</sup>, of whom Antyllus alone, the eldest, was put to death. Octavia took the rest, and educated them along with her own. Cleopatra, his daughter by Cleopatra, was married to Juba, one of the politest princes of his time; and Octavia brought Antony (his other son by Fulvia) into such favour with Cæsar, that after Agrippa and the sons of Livia, he was generally allowed to hold the first place in his regard. Octavia by her first husband Marcellus had two daughters, and a son named Marcellus. One of these daughters she gave in marriage to Agrippa; and the son married a daughter of Cæsar's. But as he died soon afterward<sup>85</sup>, and Octavia observed her brother at a loss whom to adopt in his place, she prevailed upon him to give his daughter Julia to Agrippa, though her own daughter must necessarily be divorced in order to make way for her. Cæsar and Agrippa having agreed on this point, she took back her daughter, and married her to Antony. Of the two daughters, whom Octavia had by Antony, one was married to Domitius Ænobarbus, and the other (Antonia Minor, so much celebrated for her beauty and virtue) to Drusus the son of Livia and son-in-law of Cæsar. From this line sprang Germanicus and Claudius. Claudius was subsequently emperor; and so likewise was Caius (the son of Germanicus) who, after a short but infamous reign, was put to death together with his wife and daughter. Agrippina, who had Lucius Domitius by Ænobarbus, was subsequently married to Claudius Cæsar. He adopted Domitius, and named him Nero Germanicus. This Nero, who was

<sup>84</sup> By Fulvia, he had Antyllus and Antony; by Cleopatra, Cleopatra, Ptolemy, and Alexander; and by Octavia, Antonia Major and Antonia Minor.

<sup>85</sup> This was the Marcellus so much cherished and regretted by the Romans, whom Virgil has immortalised by his affecting verses, *Æn.* vi. 861—887.\*

emperor in our times, put his own mother to death, and by the madness of his conduct nearly ruined the Roman empire. He was the fifth in descent from Antony.

## DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY COMPARED.

AS Demetrius and Antony both experienced a variety of fortune, we shall consider, in the first place, their respective power and celebrity. These were hereditary to Demetrius; for Antigonus, the most powerful of Alexander's successors, had reduced ~~all Asia~~ during his son's minority. On the other hand, the father of Antony was indeed a man of character, but not of military character. Yet though he had no public influence or reputation to bequeath to his son, that son ventured to aspire to the empire of ~~Cæsar~~, and without any title either from consanguinity or alliance, effectually invested himself with all that he had acquired: at least, by his own peculiar weight, after he had divided the world into two parts, he took the better for himself. By his lieutenants he conquered the Parthians, and drove back the barbarous nations about Caucasus as far as the Caspian sea. Even the less reputable parts of his conduct are so many testimonies of his greatness. Demetrius' father thought it an honour to marry him to Phila, the daughter of Antipater, though there was a disparity in their years: whereas Antony's union with Cleopatra was considered as a degrading circumstance, though Cleopatra in wealth and magnificence was superior, with the exception of Arsaces, to all the princes of her time. Thus he had raised himself to such a pitch of grandeur, that the world in general thought him entitled even to more than he desired.

In Demetrius' acquisition of empire, there was

nothing reprehensible; he extended it only to nations inured to subjugation, and fond of being governed: but the arbitrary power of Antony grew upon the execrable policy of a tyrant, who a second time reduced to slavery a people that had shaken off the yoke. Consequently the brightest of his actions, his conquest of Brutus and Cassius, is sullied by the inglorious motive of wresting it's liberty from Rome. Demetrius, during his better fortunes, consulted the liberties of Greece, and removed the garrisons from the cities; while Antony made it his boast, that he had destroyed the assertors of his country's freedom in Macedon.

Antony is praised for his liberality and munificence<sup>85</sup>: in which however Demetrius is so far his superior, that he gave more to his enemies, than the former did to his friends. Antony was honoured, for having allowed Brutus a magnificent funeral: but Demetrius buried every enemy that he had slain, and sent back his prisoners to Ptolemy, not only with their own property, but with presents.

Both were insolent in prosperity, and both fell with too much ease into luxury and indulgence. But we never find Demetrius neglecting his affairs for his pleasures. In his hours of leisure indeed he had his Lamia, whose office it was, like the fairy in the fable, to lull him to sleep, or to amuse him in his play. When he went to war, his spear was not bound about with ivy, his helmet did not smell of perfume, he did not come in the foppery of dress out of the women's apartments: the riots of Bacchus and his train were hushed, and he became, as Euripides says,

The minister of horrid Mars.

In short, he never lost a battle through the indulgence of luxury. This could not be said of An-

<sup>85</sup> But this, as M. Ricard justly observes, is a very equivocal virtue. For one courtier enriched, how many subjects are impoverished! How much to be admired the saying of the good Louis XII. '*Les courtisans vivent de mes dons, et le peuple de mes refus*!'

tony: As in the pictures of Hercules we see Omphale stealing his club and his lion's skin, so Cleopatra frequently disarmed Antony, and while he should have been prosecuting the most necessary expeditions, led him to dancing and dalliance on the shores of Canopus and Taphosiris<sup>86</sup>. So likewise, as Paris came from battle to the bosom of Helen, and even from the loss of victory to her bed<sup>87</sup>, Antony threw victory itself out of his hands to follow Cleopatra.

Demetrius, being under no prohibition of the laws, but following the examples of Philip and Alexander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy, married several wives, and treated them all with the highest respect. Antony, though it was a thing unheard of among the Romans, had two wives at once. Besides, he banished her who was properly his wife and his countrywoman from his house, to indulge a foreigner, with whom he could have no legal connexion. From their marriages, of course, one of them found no inconvenience; the other sustained the greatest of evils<sup>88</sup>.

In regard to their amours, Antony was comparatively pardonable and modest. Historians tell us, that the Athenians excluded dogs from the citadel, because these animals in particular couple in public. But Demetrius had his courtesans, and dishonoured the matrons of Athens, even in the temple of Minerva. Nay, though cruelty seems inconsistent with sensual gratifications, he scrupled not to drive the most beautiful and virtuous youth in the city to the extremity of death, to avoid his brutal designs. In short, Antony by his amorous indulgences hurt only himself; Demetrius injured others.

With respect to their behaviour toward their parents and relations, that of Demetrius is irreproach-

<sup>86</sup> Or, 'Tomb of Osiris.' Strabo (xvii.) mentions this as 'a romantic place near the sea, full of rocks, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, where the young people went to amuse themselves.'

<sup>87</sup> Hom. Il. iii. 447.

<sup>88</sup> An ample testimony to the blessings connected with 'honourable marriage and the bed undefiled;' and one among infinite proofs, that 'whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.' (Heb. xiii. 4.)\*

able; but Antony sacrificed his uncle to the sword of Cæsar, that he might be empowered in his turn to cut off Cicero—a crime horrible, abominable, and almost unpardonable, had Antony even saved and not sacrificed an uncle by the means! They are both accused of perfidy, in that one of them threw Artabazus<sup>89</sup> into prison, and the other killed Alexander. Antony, however, has some apology in this case; for he had been abandoned and betrayed by Artabazus in Media: whereas Demetrius was suspected of having laid a false accusation against Alexander, and punished not the offender, but the injured.

There is this difference, likewise, in their military operations, that Demetrius gained every victory himself, while many of Antony's greenest laurels were won by his lieutenants.

Both lost their empire by their own fault, but by different means. The former was abandoned by his people; the latter deserted his, even while they were fighting for him. The fault of Demetrius was, that by his conduct he forfeited the affection of his army: that of Antony, his neglect of that affection and attachment.

In their death neither of them can be approved, but Demetrius much less than Antony; for he suffered himself to fall into the hands of the enemy; and, with a spirit truly bestial, endured an imprisonment of three years, for nothing but the low indulgences of appetite. There was a deplorable weakness, and many disgraceful circumstances, attending the death of Antony; but he effected it at last without falling into the enemy's hands.

<sup>89</sup> Called Artavasdes above.











